The THIRD

COLLECTION

OF

CATO's

Political Letters

IN THE

LONDON JOURNAL;

Continued to the End of

March, 1721.

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The THIRD COLLECTION OF CANDID POLITICAL DISQUISITIONS

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The THIRD COLLECTION OF Political Letters IN THE LONDON JOURNAL,

NUMBER XIX.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR. *Feb.* 4. 1720.

WIthout Freedom of Thought, there can be no ſuch Thing as Wiſdom; and no ſuch Thing as publick Liberty, without Freedom of Speech; which is the Right of every Man, as far as by it, he does not hurt or controul the Right of another: And this is the only Check it ought to ſuffer, and the only Bounds it ought to know.

This ſacred Privilege is ſo eſſential to free Governments, that the Security of Property, and the Freedom of Speech, always go together; and in thoſe wretched Countries where a Man cannot call his Tongue his own, he can ſcarce call any Thing elſe his own. Whoever would overthrow the Liberty of a Nation, muſt begin by ſubduing the Freeneſs of Speech; a *Thing* terrible to *Publick Traytors*.

This Secret was ſo well known to the Court of *King Charles the Firſt*, that his *wicked Miniſtry* procured a Proclamation, to forbid the People to talk of Parliaments, which thoſe *Traytors* had laid aſide. To aſſert the undoubted Right of the Subject, and defend his Majeſty's legal Prerogative, was called Diſaffection, and puniſhed as Sedition. Nay, People were forbid to talk of Religion in their Families: For, the Prieſts had combined with the Miniſters to cook up Tyranny, and ſuppreſs Truth and the Law. While the late *King James*, when *Duke of York*, went avowedly to Maſs, Men were fined, impriſoned and undone, for ſaying he was a Papiſt: And that *King Charles the Second* might live more ſecurely a Papiſt, there was an Act of Parliament made, declaring it Treaſon to ſay that he was one.

That Men *ought* to ſpeak well of *their Governours*, is true, while *their Governours* deſerve to be well ſpoken of; but to do *publick Miſchief*, without hearing of it, is only the Prerogative and *Felicity* of Tyranny: A free People will be ſhewing that they are *ſo*, by their Freedom of Speech.

The Adminiſtration of Government, is nothing elſe but the Attendance of the *Truſtees of the People* upon the Intereſt and Affairs of the People: And as it is the Part and Buſineſs of the People, for whoſe Sake alone all publick Matters are, or ought to be, tranſacted, to ſee whether they be well or ill tranſacted; ſo it is the Intereſt, and ought to be the Ambition, of all honeſt Magiſtrates, to have their Deeds openly examined, and publickly ſcann'd: Only the *wicked Governours* of Men dread what is ſaid of them;

Au-

Audivit Tiberius *probra queis lacerabitur, atque* perculſus eſt. The publick Cenſure was true, elſe he had not felt it bitter.

Freedom of Speech is ever the Symptom, as well as the Effect of a good Government. In old *Rome*, all was left to the Judgment and Pleaſure of the People, who examined the publick Proceedings with ſuch Diſcretion, and cenſured thoſe who adminiſtred them with ſuch Equity and Mildneſs, that in the ſpace of Three Hundred Years, not Five *publick Miniſters* ſuffered unjuſtly. Indeed, whenever the *Commons* proceeded to Violence, the great Ones had been the Aggreſſors.

GUILT only dreads Liberty of Speech, which drags it out of its lurking Holes, and expoſes its Deformity and Horrour to Day-light. *Horatius, Valerius, Cincinnatus*, and other vertuous and undeſigning Magiſtrates of the *Roman* Commonwealth, had nothing to fear from Liberty of Speech. *Their virtuous* Adminiſtration, the more it was examin'd, the more it brighten'd and gain'd by Enquiry. When *Valerius*, in particular, was accuſed upon ſome ſlight Grounds of affecting the Diadem; he, who was the firſt Miniſter of *Rome*, does not accuſe the People for examining his Conduct, but approved his Innocence in a Speech to them; and gave ſuch Satisfaction to them, and gained ſuch Popularity to himſelf, that they gave him a new Name; *inde cognomen factum Publicolæ eſt*; to denote that he was their Favourite and their Friend —— *Latæ deinde leges —— Ante omnes de provocatione ADVERSUS MAGISTRATUS AD POPULUM*, Livii, lib. 2. Cap. 8.

But Things afterwards took another Turn. *Rome*, with the Loſs of its Liberty, loſt alſo its Freedom of Speech; then Mens Words began to be feared and watched; and then firſt began the *poyſonous Race of Informers*, baniſhed indeed under the righteous Adminiſtration of *Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Aurelius*, &c. but encouraged and enriched under the *vile Miniſtry of Sejanus, Tigillinus, Pallas*, and *Cleander*: *Queri libet*,

libet, quod in ſecreta noſtra non inquirant principes, niſi quos odimus, ſays *Pliny* to *Trajan.*

The beſt Princes have ever encouraged and promoted Freedom of Speech; they know that upright Meaſures would defend themſelves, and that all upright Men would defend them. *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of the Reign of ſome of the Princes abovemention'd, ſays with Extaſy, *Rara Temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere licet:* A bleſſed Time, when you might think what you would, and ſpeak what you thought.

The ſame was the Opinion and Practice of the wiſe and virtuous *Timoleon*, the Deliverer of the great City of *Syracuſe* from Slavery. He being accuſed by *Demænetus*, a popular Orator, in a full Aſſembly of the People, of ſeveral Miſdemeanors committed by him while he was General, gave no other Anſwer, than that *He was highly obliged to the Gods for granting him a Requeſt that he had often made to them*, namely, *that he might live to ſee the* Syracuſians *enjoy that Liberty of Speech which they now ſeem'd to be Maſters of.*

And the great *M. Marcellus*, that won more Battles than any *Roman* Captain of his Age, being accuſed by the *Syracuſians*, while he was now a fourth Time *Conſul*, of having done them Indignities and hoſtile Wrongs, contrary to the League, roſe from his Seat in the Senate, as ſoon as the Charge againſt him was opened, and paſſing (as a private Man) into the Place where the Accuſed were wont to make their Defence, gave free Liberty to the *Syracuſians* to Impeach him; which, when they had done, he and they went out of the Court together to attend the Iſſue of the Cauſe: Nor did he expreſs the leaſt Ill-will or Reſentment towards theſe his Accuſers; but being acquitted, received their City into his Protection. Had he been Guilty, he would neither have ſhewn ſuch Temper or Courage.

I doubt not but Old *Spencer* and his *Son*, who were the *Chief Miniſters* and *Betrayers* of *Edward the Second*, would have been very glad to have ſtopped

the

the Mouths of all the honeſt Men in *England*. They dreaded to be called *Traytors*, becauſe they were *Traytors*. And I dare ſay, Queen *Elizabeth's Walſingham*, who deſerved no Reproaches, feared none. Miſrepreſentation of publick Meaſures is eaſily overthrown, by repreſenting publick Meaſures truly; when they are honeſt, they ought to be publickly known, that they may be publickly commended; but if they are knaviſh or pernicious, they ought to be publickly expoſed, in order to be publickly deteſted.

That King *James* was a Papiſt, and a Tyrant, was only ſo far hurtful to him, as it was true of him; and if the Earl of *Strafford* had not deſerved to be Impeached, he needed not have feared a Bill of Attainder. If our Directors and their *Confederates* are not ſuch Knaves as the World thinks them; let them prove to all the World, that the World thinks wrong, and that they are guilty of none of thoſe Villanies which all the World lays to their Charge. Others too, who would be thought to have no Part of their Guilt, muſt, before they are thought innocent, ſhew that they did all that was in their Power to prevent that Guilt, and to *check* their Proceedings.

Freedom of Speech is the great Bulwark of Liberty; they proſper and die together: And it is the Terror of *Traytors* and *Oppreſſors*, and a Barrier againſt them. It produces excellent Writers, and encourages Men of fine Genius. *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Roman* Commonwealth bred great and numerous Authors, who writ with equal Boldneſs and Eloquence: But when it was enſlaved, thoſe great Wits were no more—— *Poſtquam bellatum apud Actium; atque omnem poteſtatem ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia ceſſere.* Tyranny had uſurped the Place of Equality, which is the Soul of Liberty, and deſtroyed publick Courage. The Minds of Men, terrified by unjuſt Power, degenerated into all the Vileneſs and Methods of Servitude: Abject Sycophancy and blind Submiſſion grew the only *Means* of Preferments, and indeed of Safety:

Men

Men durſt not open their Mouths, but to flatter.

Pliny the Younger obſerves, that this Dread of Tyranny had ſuch Effect, that the Senate, the *great Roman Senate*, became at laſt ſtupid and dumb. *Mutam ac ſedentariam aſſentiendi neceſſitatem*: Hence, ſays he, our Spirit and Genius are ſtupified, broken, and ſunk for ever. And in one of his Epiſtles, ſpeaking of the Works of his Uncle, he makes an Apology for Eight of them, as not written with the ſame Vigour which was to be found in the reſt; for, ſays he, theſe Eight were written in the Reign of *Nero*, when the Spirit of Writing was cramp'd by Fear; *Dubii Sermonis octo ſcripſit ſub Nerone ——— cum omne ſtudiorum genus paulo liberius & erectius periculoſum ſervitus feciſſet.*

All Miniſtries, therefore, who were *Oppreſſors*, or intended to be *Oppreſſors*, have been loud in their Complaints againſt Freedom of Speech, and the Licenſe of the Preſs; and always reſtrained, or endeavoured to reſtrain, Both. In conſequence of this they have brow-beaten Writers, and puniſhed them violently, and againſt Law, and burnt their Works; by all which, they ſhew'd, how much Truth allarmed them, and how much they were at Enmity with Truth.

There is a famous Inſtance of this in *Tacitus*. He tells us, that *Cremutius Cordus*, having, in his Annals, praiſed *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, gave Offence to *Sejanus*, Firſt Miniſter, and to ſome inferiour Sycophants in the Court of *Tiberius*; who, conſcious of their own Characters, took the Praiſe beſtowed on every worthy *Roman*, to be ſo many Reproaches pointed at themſelves: They therefore complain of the Book to the Senate, which, being now only the Machine of Tyranny, condemned it to be burnt. But this did not prevent its ſpreading —— *Libros cremandos cenſuere Patres, ſed manſerunt occultati & editi*; being cenſured, it was the more ſought after. *From hence*, ſays *Tacitus*, *we may wonder at the Stupidity of thoſe Stateſmen, who hope to extinguiſh, by the Terrour of*

their

their Power, the Memory of their Actions; for quite otherwiſe, *the Puniſhment of good Writers gains Credit to their Writings.* The Latin is inimitable; *Nam contra, punitis ingeniis, gliſcit auctoritas.* Nor did ever any Government, who practiſed impolitick Severity, get any Thing by it, but Infamy to themſelves, and Renown to thoſe who ſuffered under it. This alſo is an Obſervation of *Tacitus: Neque aliud Reges, qui ea ſævitia uſi ſunt, niſi dedecus ſibi, atque gloriam illis peperere.*

Freedom of Speech, therefore, being of ſuch infinite Importance to the Preſervation of Liberty; every one who loves Liberty, ought to encourage Freedom of Speech. Hence it is, that I, living in a Country of Liberty, and under the beſt Prince upon Earth, ſhall take this very favourable Opportunity of ſerving Mankind, by warning them of the *hideous Miſchiefs* they will ſuffer, if ever *corrupt* and *wicked Men* ſhall hereafter get Poſſeſſion of any *State*, and the Power of *betraying their Maſter*: and in order to do this, I will ſhew them by what Steps they will probably proceed to accompliſh their *traiterous Ends.* This may be the Subject of my next.

Valerius Maximus tells us, that *Lentulus Marcellinus*, the *Roman Conſul*, having complained, in a popular Aſſembly, of the over-grown Power of *Pompey*; the whole People anſwered him with a Shout of Approbation: Upon which, the *Conſul* told them, *Shout on, Gentlemen, ſhout on, and uſe thoſe bold Signs of Liberty while you may, for I do not know how long they will be allowed you.*

God be thanked, we *Engliſhmen* have neither loſt our Liberties, nor are in Danger of loſing them. Let us always cheriſh this matchleſs Bleſſing, almoſt peculiar to our ſelves; that our Poſterity may, *many Ages hence*, aſcribe *their Freedom* to *our Zeal.* The Defence of Liberty, is a Noble, a *Heavenly Office*, which can only be performed where Liberty is: For, as the ſame *Valerius Maximus* obſerves, *Quid ergo libertas*

libertas, ſine CATONE? *Non magis quam* CATO *ſine Libertate.*

I am, *SIR*,
Your old Friend,
CATO.

NUMB. XX.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR *Feb.* 11. 1720.

THE wiſe *Sancha Pancha* deſired that his Subjects in the promiſed Iſland, might be all *Blacks*, becauſe *he would ſell them*. And this ſeems to be the firſt *modeſt*, and, as I think, the only *reaſonable Deſire* of the Leaders of all Parties; for no Man will be at the Expence and Fatigue of Body and Conſcience, *which is neceſſary to lead a Faction*, only to be diſturbed and annoyed by them.

A very great Authority has told us, that 'tis worth no Man's time to ſerve a Party, unleſs he can now and then *get good Jobs* by it. This, I can ſafely ſay, has been the conſtant Principle and Practice of every *leading Patriot* ever ſince I have been capable of obſerving publick Tranſactions; the *primum Mobile*, the *Alpha* and *Omega* of all their Actions: They all profeſſed to have in view only the *Publick Good*, yet every one ſhewed he only meant his *own*; and all the while the great as well as little Mobb, the *procerum turba Mobilium*, contend as fiercely for their *Leaders*, as if their Happineſs or Miſery depended upon the *Phiz*, the *Cloaths*, or *Title* of the Perſons who robbed and betrayed them. *Thus* the Highwayman, who ſaid to the Traveller, *Pray, Sir, leave your Watch and Money in my Hands, or elſe* —— *you will be robbed.*

The

Pound a Fool in a Mortar, and he comes out never the *wiſer*; no Experience will make the Bulk of Mankind ſo, or put them upon their Guard; they will be caught over and over again by the ſame Baits and ſtale Stratagems: No ſooner is a Party betrayed by one Head, but they rail at him, and ſet up another; and when he has ſerved them in the ſame manner, they chooſe a *Third*, and put full Confidence in every one of them ſucceſſively, tho' they all make the ſame Uſe of their Credulity; that is, put a Price upon their Calves Heads, and ſell them; which, however, they have the leſs Reaſon to complain of, becauſe they would have all done the ſame.

I aſſure you, Sir, that I have not the leaſt Hopes in this Letter, to make Men honeſter, but I would gladly teach them a little more Wit; that is, I would adviſe any one who is contented to be ſold, that he receives the Money himſelf, and takes good Care of *one*, whatever becomes of his Neighbours; *as ſome diſcreet Perſons have lately done.* Whatever Bargains are ſtruck up amongſt the Betrayers of their Country, we muſt find the Money, and pay both Sides, How wiſe and advantagious would it then be for us not to intereſt our ſelves in the Agreements or Squabbles of ambitious Men, who are building their Fortunes upon our Ruin. Once upon a time, a *French* Ambaſſadour deſired an Audience of the *Grand Viſier*, and in pompous *French* Fuſtain, notified to him, that his Maſter had won a great Victory over the *Gemains*; to which that wiſe Miniſter anſwered Laconically, *What is it to me, if the whole Herd of Unbelievers, like Dogs, mutually worry one another, ſo that my Maſter's Head be ſafe.*

This Letter of Advice is not intended for thoſe who ſhare already in the publick Spoils, or who like *Jackalls* hunt down the Lyon's Prey, that they may have the picking of the Bones, when their Maſters are glutted. But I would perſwade the poor, the injured, the diſtreſſed People, to be no longer the *Dupes* and *Property* of *Hypocrites* and *Traytors*. But very few can ſhare in the Wages of Iniquity, and all

the reſt muſt ſuffer: The People's Intereſt is the Publick Intereſt; it ſignifies the ſame Thing: Whatever theſe *Betrayers* of their Country get, the People muſt looſe; and what is worſe, muſt looſe a great deal more than the others can get; for ſuch *Conſpiracies* and *Extortions* cannot be ſucceſsfully carried on, without deſtroying or injuring Trade, perverting Juſtice, corrupting the Guardians of the publick Liberty, and the almoſt total Diſſolution of the Principles of Government.

Few can receive the Advantages ariſing from publick Misfortunes, and therefore methinks few ſhould deſire them. Indeed, I can eaſily ſee how Men of deſperate Circumſtances, or Men guilty of deſperate Crimes, can find their Account in a general Confuſion of all Things. I can ſee how thoſe Prieſts who aim at Tyrranny, can find their Intereſt in the Loſs of publick Liberty, in the Reſtraint of the Preſs, and by introducing a Religion which deſtroys Chriſtianity: There are Reaſons too at hand, why ambitious Men *per fas & nefas* ſhould graſp at the Poſſeſſion of immenſe Wealth, high Honours, and exorbitant Power; but that the Gentry, the Body of the People in a free Nation, ſhould become the Tools and Inſtruments of *Knaves* and *Pickpockets*, ſhould liſt themſelves in their Quarrels, and fight their Battles, and this too often at the Expence, and by the Violation of good Neighbourhood, near Relation, private Friendſhip; that Men of great Eſtates and Quality, for ſmall and trifling Conſiderations, and ſometimes none at all, ſhould promote wild, villanous Projects, to the Ruin of themſelves and Country, by making precarious their own Titles to their Lives, Eſtates and Liberties, is ſomething ſo ſtupendious, that it muſt be thought impoſſible, if daily Experience did not convince us, that it is more than poſſible.

I have often ſeen honeſt *Tories* fooliſhly defending knaviſh *Tories*, and untainted *Whigs* protecting corrupt *Whigs*, even in Inſtances where they acted againſt the Principles of all *Whigs*; and by that means

means depreciated Whiggiſm it ſelf, and gave the ſtupid Herd occaſion to believe they had no Principles at all, but were only a factious Combination for Preferment and Power.

It is high time, at laſt, for the Bubbles of all Parties, for *Whigs* and *Tories*, for *High-Church* and *Low-Church*, to come to an *Eclaircesement*, and no longer ſuffer themſelves to be bought and ſold by their *Drivers*: Let them ceaſe to be Calves and Sheep, and they will not be uſed like Calves and Sheep. If they can be perſwaded now and then to confer Notes, they will find, that for the moſt part the Differences between them are not material; that they take only different Meaſures to attain the ſame Ends; that they have but one common Intereſt, which is the Intereſt of their Country; *and that is*, to be freed from *Oppreſſion*, and to puniſh their *Oppreſſors*; whoſe Practice, on the contrary, will always be to form Parties, and blow up Factions to mutual Animoſities, that they may find Protection in thoſe Animoſities.

Let us not therefore hereafter ſuffer our ſelves to be ſet together by the Ears, and make Crowds, which are the Harveſts of Pickpockets: Let us learn to value an honeſt Man of another Party more than a Knave of our own: Let the only Contention be, who ſhall be moſt ready to ſpew out their own Rogues, and I will be anſwerable, all other Differences will ſoon be at an End. Indeed there had been no ſuch thing as *Party* now in *England*, if we had not been betrayed by thoſe we truſted.

Thro' the Villany and Knaviſh Deſigns of Leaders, this Nation has loſt ſeveral glorious Opportunities of reſcuing the Conſtitution, and ſettling it upon a firm and ſolid Baſis; let us not therefore, by the like Practices, looſe the preſent favourable Offer: Let us make Earnings of our Misfortunes, and accept our Calamities as an Opportunity thrown into our Laps by indulgent Providence, to ſave our ſelves; and not again fooliſhly and ungratefully reject and

ſpurn at the Intimations and Invitations of Heaven to preſerve our Prince and Country.

Machiavel tells us, that no Government can long ſubſiſt, but by recurring often to its firſt Principles; but this can never be done while Men live at Eaſe and in Luxury, for then they cannot be perſuaded to ſee diſtant Dangers, of which they feel no Part: The Conjunctures proper for ſuch Reformations, are when Men are awakened by Misfortunes, and frighted with the Approach and near View of preſent Evils; then they wiſh for Remedies, and their Minds are prepared to receive them, to hear Reaſons, and to fall into Meaſures propoſed by wiſe Men for their Security.

The great Authority, juſt quoted, informs us what Meaſures and Expedients are neceſſary to ſave a State under ſuch Exigencies: He tells us, as a Tyranny cannot be eſtabliſhed, but by deſtroying *Brutus*, ſo a free Government is not to be preſerved, but by deſtroying *Brutus's Sons*: Let us therefore put on a Reſolution equal to the mighty Occaſion: Let us exert a Spirit worthy of *Britons*, worthy of Freemen, who deſerve Liberty. Let us take Advantage of the Opportunity, while Mens Reſentments boil high, whilſt leſſer Animoſities ſeem to be laid aſide, and moſt Men are ſick of Party and *Party Leaders*; and let us by all proper Methods exemplarily puniſh the *Parricides*, and avowed Enemies of all Mankind.

Let neither private Acquaintance, perſonal Alliance, or Party Combination ſtand between us and our Duty to our Country: Let all thoſe, who have a common Intereſt in the publick Safety, join in common Meaſures to defend the publick Safety: Let us purſue to Diſgrace, Deſtruction, and even *Death*, thoſe who have brought this Ruin upon us, let them be ever ſo great, or ever ſo many: Let us ſtamp, and deep engrave in Characters legible to all *Europe* at preſent, and to all Poſterity hereafter, what Vengeance is due to Crimes, which have

no

no leſs Objects in view, than the Ruin of *Nations*, and the Deſtruction of *Millions*: *They* have made many bold, deſperate and wicked Attempts to deſtroy *us*; let *US* ſtrike one honeſt and bold Stroke to deſtroy *Them*.

Tho' the Deſigns of the *Conſpirators* ſhould be laid deep as the Center, tho' they ſhould raiſe Hell it ſelf in their Quarrel, and ſhould fetch Legions of Votaries from thence to avow their Proceedings, yet let us not leave the purſuit till we have their Skins and their Eſtates: We know by paſt Experience, that there are thoſe amongſt us, who will be glad to quit the Chaſe, when our Villains, like *Beavers*, drop what they are uſually hunted for; but the Nation is now too much provoked, and too much injur'd, to ſuffer themſelves to be again ſo betray'd.

We have Heaven to direct us, a glorious King to lead us, and a wiſe and faithful Parliament to aſſiſt and protect us: Whilſt we have ſuch a *King*, and ſuch a Parliament, every worthy *Briton* cries out aloud

Manus hæc inimica Tyrannis
Enſe petit placidam, ſub libertate quietem.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

ATTICUS.

NUMB. XXI.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR,

IT's a common Reproach upon the Britiſh Nation, in the Mouths of all Foreigners, that the Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands are more liable to Bribery, than any other People under the Sun: I need not mention the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines*, who tells us, that all the Engliſh *Miniſters* were Penſioners to *France*, in the Reign of *Edward the Fourth*, and gave

Receipts

Receipts for the ſeveral Sums they received, except my Lord *Haſtings*, who *took the Money*, but refuſed to give it under his Hand, that he had BETRAYED *his King and Country.*

Our Anceſtors ſeem to have well underſtood this Temper of our Countrymen, by the ſevere Laws they made againſt this *deteſtable Crime*; which unleſs ſeverely puniſhed, might ſoon have made this flouriſhing Kingdom, a deſart Spot of Ground.

By the Laws of King *Canutus* the *Dane*, Cap. 13. it is enacted, *That if any Judge take a Fee, he ſhall forfeit his Head to the King.*

At the Aſſizes holden at *Lincoln*, A. 23. *E.* 3. Sir *William Thorpe*, C. J. of the *King's-Bench*, having taken a Bribe of 90 *l.* from Five Perſons to ſtay a Writ of *Exigent* againſt them, the King appointed Five Lords to try him for the Bribery. And *A.* 24. *E.* 3. Sir *William* was ſentenced *to be hanged, and all his Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels forfeited.* This Sentence was afterwards affirmed by the *Houſe of Lords*, and it is warranted by Authority of Parliament, *A.* 20. *E.* 3.

Thus ſtood the Law in the Time of *Edward* the Third. My Lord *Coke* indeed ſays, *This Precedent ought not to be followed*; but as he produces no *Act of Parliament* that has repealed that Statute of 20 *E.* 3. we may venture to ſay *the Laws ſtand ſo at this Day*; and ſuch as have read the Hiſtory of the Times, in which my Lord *Coke* lived, will, without much difficulty, find out the Reaſon why his Lordſhip would not have *this Precedent followed.*

The Statute of the 11*th* of *H.* 4. commands no *Chancellour, Treaſurer, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Counſellour to the King, King's Serjeants*, or other Officer or Miniſter of the King, *&c.* ſhall take any Bribe, under the Penalty of forfeiting treble the Sum to the King, ſatisfying the Party, being puniſhed at the King's Pleaſure, and of being rendered incapable of any Place of Truſt for the future. This Statute likewiſe gives the Third Part of the Sum, given as a Bribe, to the Informer, who, in this Caſe ſues for himſelf,

himſelf, as well as for the King; and therefore the King cannot grant a *Noli Proſequi*, the Proſecutor having a Right to the Third Part given him by *Act of Parliament*.

This Statute of the 11*th* of *H.* 4. not having taken any Notice of the 20*th E.* 3. that Act ſtill remains in Force; for, *I think I've heard the Lawyers ſay*, a former Act of Parliament cannot be repealed by a latter, *unleſs by expreſs Words*.

By the Statute of the 12*th R.* 2*d.* If the *Lord Treaſurer, for any Gift*, make any Cuſtomer, Comptroller, or any Officer or Miniſter; this is Bribery. He ought, according to that Statute, make all ſuch Officers and Miniſters of the *beſt* and moſt *lawful* Men, and ſufficient for their *Eſtimation* and *Knowledge*. 'An excellent Law (ſays my Lord *Coke*) tending 'greatly to his Majeſty's Advantage, to the good 'Uſage and Encouragement of Merchants, *&c.* and 'generally to the Advancement of Commerce, 'Trade and Traffick.' But Bribery has the quite contrary Effects; *for*, as the ſame Author obſerves, *they that Buy will Sell*.

Vendit Alexander claves, altaria ſacra:
Vendere jure poteſt, emerat ille prius.

In the 21*ſt* Year of King *James* the Firſt, *L.* Earl of *M.* Lord Treaſurer of *England*, being accuſed by the Commons, of having taken divers Bribes of the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, the Lords gave this remarkable Judgment, 1. 'That you, *L.* Earl of *M.* 'now Lord Treaſurer of *England*, ſhall loſe all your 'Offices which you hold in this Kingdom, 2. Shall 'be for ever incapable of any Office, Place or Em-'ployment in this State or Commonwealth. 3. 'That you ſhall be impriſoned in the *Tower* of *Lon-'don*, during the King's Pleaſure. 4. That you ſhall 'pay to our Sovereign Lord the King, the Fine of 'Fifty Thouſand Pound. 5. *That you ſhall never ſit 'in Parliament any more*. 6. That you ſhall never 'come within the Verge of the King's Court.

The Clergy, in all Ages, *but the preſent*, have given ſuch convincing Proofs of their Affection to Money,

which

which is the Parent of Power; that I ſhall not trouble you with any Examples of Clergymen, who have broke through the moſt ſolemn Oaths for the Sake of *Pelf*; only obſerve, That in King *H.* the VIIIth's Time, Sir *Thomas More*, who was *LORD CHANCELLOUR, and was never ſuſpected of having taken a Bribe*, took Notice, that there was ne'er a poor Vicar in *England*, but paid Part of his Sallary to *Woolſey*, who was an *ARCH-BISHOP* in thoſe Days.

I am, SIR,
Your Humble Servant,
CORIOLANUS.

NUMB. XXII.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR,

AS under the beſt Princes, and the beſt Servants to Princes alone, it is ſafe to ſpeak what is true of the worſt; ſo, according to my former Promiſe to the Publick, I ſhall take the Advantage of our excellent King's moſt gentle Government, and the virtuous Adminiſtration of an uncorrupt Miniſtry, to warn Mankind againſt the Miſchiefs which may hereafter be dreaded from corrupt ones. It is too true, that every Country in the World has ſometimes groaned under that heavy Misfortune, and our own as much as any; though I cannot allow it to be true, what *Monſieur de Witt* has long ſince obſerved, that the *Engliſh Court* has always been the moſt thieviſh Court in *Europe*.

Few Men have been deſperate enough to attack openly, and barefaced, the Liberties of a free People. Such avowed Conſpirators can rarely ſucceed: The Attempt would deſtroy it ſelf. Even when the Enterprize is begun and viſible, the End muſt be hid, or denied. It is the Buſineſs and Policy of Traitors,

Traitors, ſo to diſguiſe their Treaſon with plauſible Names, and ſo to recommend it with popular and bewitching Colours, that they themſelves ſhall be adored, while their Work is deteſted, and yet carried on by thoſe that deteſt it.

Thus one Nation has been ſurrender'd to another, under the fair Name of mutual Alliance: The Fortreſſes of a Nation have been given up, or attempted to be given up, under the frugal Notion of ſaving Charges to a Nation; and Commonwealths have been trepann'd into Slavery, by Troops raiſed or increaſed, to defend them from Slavery.

It may therefore be of Service to the World, to ſhew what Meaſures have been taken by corrupt Miniſters in ſome of our neighbouring Countries, to ruin and enſlave the People over whom they preſided; and to ſhew by what Steps and Gradations of Miſchief Nations have been undone, and conſequently what Methods may be hereafter taken to undo others; and this Subject I the rather chuſe, becauſe my Countrymen may be the more ſenſible of, and know how to value the ineſtimable Bleſſing of living under the beſt Prince, and the beſt eſtabliſhed Government in the Univerſe, where we have none of theſe Things to fear.

Such Traitors will probably endeavour firſt to get their Prince into their Poſſeſſion, and, like *Sejanus*, ſhut him up in a little Iſland, or perhaps make him a Priſoner in his Court; whilſt, with full range, they devour his Dominions, and plunder his Subjects. When he is thus ſecluded from the Acceſs of his Friends, and the Knowledge of his Affairs, he muſt be content with ſuch Miſrepreſentations as they ſhall find expedient to give him. Falſe Caſes will be ſtated, to juſtify wicked Counſel; and wicked Counſel will be given, to procure unjuſt Orders. He will be made to miſtake his Foes for his Friends, and his Friends for his Foes; and to believe that his Affairs are in the higheſt Proſperity, when they are in the greateſt Diſtreſs; and that publick Matters go on in the greateſt Harmony, when they are in the utmoſt Confuſion.

They will be ever contriving and forming wicked and dangerous Projects, to make the People poor, and themſelves rich; well knowing that Dominion follows Property; that where there are Wealth and Power, there will be always Crowds of ſervile Dependents; and that, on the contrary, Poverty dejects the Mind, and faſhions it for Slavery, and renders it unequal to any generous Undertaking, and incapable of oppoſing any bold Uſurpation. They will ſquander away the publick Money in wanton Preſents to Minions, and their Creatures of Pleaſure, or of Burthen, or in Penſions to mercenary and worthleſs Men and Women, for vile Ends, and traiterous Purpoſes.

They will engage their Country in ridiculous, expenſive, fantaſtical Wars, to keep the Minds of Men in continual Hurry and Agitation, and under conſtant Fears and Alarms; and by ſuch Means deprive them both of Leiſure and Inclination to look into publick Miſcarriages. Men, on the contrary, will, inſtead of ſuch Inſpection, be diſpoſed to fall into all Meaſures offered, ſeemingly, for their Defence, and will agree to every wild Demand made by thoſe who are betraying them.

When they have ſerved their Ends by ſuch Wars, or have other Motives to make Peace, they will have no View to the publick Intereſt; but will often, to procure ſuch Peace, deliver up the ſtrong Holds of their Country, or its Colonies for Trade, to open Enemies, ſuſpected Friends, or dangerous Neighbours, that they may not be interrupted in their Domeſtick Deſigns.

They will create Parties in the Commonwealth, or keep them up where they already are; and by playing them by Turns upon each other, will rule both. By making the *Guelfs* afraid of the *Ghibilines*, and theſe afraid of the *Guelfs*, they will make themſelves the Mediums and Ballance between the Two Factions; and both Factions, in their Turns, the Props of their Authority, and the Inſtruments of their Deſigns.

They will not ſuffer any Men, who have once taſted of Authority, though perſonally their Enemies,

and

and whoſe Poſts they enjoy, to be called to an Account for paſt Crimes, tho' ever ſo enormous. They will make no ſuch Precedents for their own Puniſhment, nor cenſure Treaſon which they intend to commit. On the contrary, they will form new Conſpiracies, and invent new Fences for their own Impunity and Protection; and endeavour to engage ſuch Numbers in their Guilt, as to ſet themſelves above all Fear of Puniſhment.

They will prefer worthleſs and wicked Men, and not ſuffer a Man of Knowledge or Honeſty to come near them, or enjoy a Poſt under them. They will diſgrace Men of Virtue, and ridicule Virtue it ſelf, and laugh at publick Spirit. They will put Men into Employments, without any Regard to their Qualifications for theſe Employments, or indeed to any Qualification at all, but as they contribute to their Deſigns, and ſhew a ſtupid Alacrity to do what they are bid. They muſt be either Fools or Beggars; either void of Capacity to diſcover their Intrigues, or of Credit and Inclination to diſappoint them.

They will promote Luxury, Idleneſs and Expence, and a general Depravation of Manners, by their own Example, as well as by Connivance and publick Encouragement. This will not only divert Mens Thoughts from examining their Behaviour and Politicks, but likewiſe ſet them looſe from all the Reſtraints of private and publick Virtue. From Immorality and Exceſſes, they will fall into Neceſſity, and from thence into a ſervile Dependence upon Power.

In order to this, they will bring into faſhion, Gaming, Drunkenneſs Gluttony, and profuſe and coſtly Dreſs. They will debauch their Country with foreign Vices, and foreign Inſtruments of vicious Pleaſures; and will contrive and encourage publick Revels, Nightly Diſguiſes, and debauch'd Mummeries.

They will, by all practicable Means of Oppreſſion, provoke the People to Diſaffection; and then make that Diſaffection an Argument for new Oppreſſion,

for not truſting them any further, and for keeping up Troops; and, in fine, for depriving them of Liberties and Privileges, to which they are entitled by their Birth, and the Laws of their Country.

If ſuch Meaſures ſhould ever be taken in any free Country, where the People chuſe Deputies to repreſent them, then they will endeavour to bribe the Electors in the Choice of their Repreſentatives, and ſo to get a Council of their own Creatures; and where they cannot ſucceed with the Electors, they will endeavour to corrupt the Deputies after they are choſen, with the Money given for the publick Defence, and to draw into the Perpetration of their Crimes thoſe very Men, from whom the betrayed People expect the Redreſs of their Grievances, and the Puniſhment of thoſe Crimes. And when they have thus made the Repreſentatives of the People afraid of the People, and the People afraid of their Repreſentatives; then they will endeavour to perſuade thoſe Deputies to ſeize the Government to themſelves, and not to truſt their Principals any longer with the Power of reſenting their Treachery and ill Uſage, and of ſending honeſter and wiſer Men in their Room.

But if the Conſtitution ſhould be ſo ſtubbornly framed, that it will ſtill preſerve it ſelf, and the Peoples Liberties, in ſpight of all villainous Contrivances to deſtroy both; then muſt the Conſtitution it ſelf be attacked, and broken becauſe it will not bend. There muſt be an Endeavour, under ſome Pretence of publick Good, to alter the Ballance of the Government, and to get it into the ſole Power of their Creatures, or of ſuch who will have conſtantly an Intereſt diſtinct from that of the Body of the People.

But if all theſe Schemes for the Ruin of the Publick, and their own Impunity, ſhould fail them; and the worthy Patriots of a free Country ſhould prove obſtinate in Defence of their Country, and reſolve to call its Betrayers to a ſtrict Account; there is then but one Thing left for ſuch Traitors to do; namely,

namely, to veer about, and by joining with the Enemy of their Prince and Country, compleat their Treaſon.

I have ſomewhere read of a Favourite, and firſt Miniſter to a neighbouring Prince, long ſince dead, who played his part ſo well, that, though he had, by his evil Counſels, raiſed a Rebellion, and a Conteſt for the Crown; yet he preſerved himſelf a Reſource, whoever got the better: If his old Maſter ſucceeded, then this *Achitophel*, by the Help of a baffled Rebellion, ever favourable to Princes, had the Glory of fixing his Maſter in abſolute Power: But, as his brave Rival got the Day, *Achitophel* had the Merit of betraying his old Maſter to plead, and was accordingly taken into Favour.

Happy therefore, thrice happy, are we, who can be unconcerned Spectators of the Miſeries which the greateſt Part of *Europe* is reduced to ſuffer, having loſt their Liberties by the Intrigues and Wickedneſs of thoſe they truſted; whilſt *WE* continue in full Enjoyment of ours, and can be in no danger of loſing them, while we have ſo excellent a King, aſſiſted and obeyed by ſo wiſe a Parliament.

I am, *SIR*,

Your old Friend,

CATO.

NUMB. XXIII.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR, *Feb.* 25. 1720.

ABi venalis civitas mox peritura ſi emptorem invenias: "Farewel, mercenary City, ripe for Deſtruc-" tion, and juſt ready to deliver up thy ſelf, and all " thy Liberties, to the firſt Bidder, who is able to " buy Thee, ſaid the great *Jugurtha*, when he was " leaving *Rome*: *Rome*, the Nurſe of Heroes, the Miſtreſs

ſtreſs of Nations, the Glory of Empires, and the Source, the Standard and Pattern of Virtue and Knowledge, and indeed, of every Thing which ever was praiſe-worthy and valuable amongſt Men, was ſoon after fallen, fallen ten thouſand, thouſand Fathoms deep in the Abyſs of Corruption and Impiety: No more of that publick Spirit appeared, that rendered it amiable, as well as terrible, to the World: It conquered by its Virtue more than its Arms; It commanded a willing Subjection from the numerous Nations, who readily acknowledged its ſuperiour Genius and natural Right to Empire, and afterwards their own Condition to be graced by the Dignity of ſuch a Miſtreſs.

But, ſays the Abbot *Vertot*, *about this Time another Nation ſeemed to appear upon the Stage: A general Corruption ſoon ſpread it ſelf through all Degrees of the State: Juſtice was publickly ſold in the Tribunals; The Voices of the People went to the higheſt Bidder; and the Conſuls, having obtain'd that great Poſt by Intrigues, or by Bribery, never now made War but to enrich themſelves with the Spoils of Nations, and often to plunder thoſe very Provinces, which their Duty bound them to protect and defend —— The Provinces were obliged to ſupply theſe prodigious Expences: The Generals poſſeſſed themſelves of the Revenues of the Commonwealth, and the State was weakened in proportion as its Members became powerful ——— It was ſufficient Colour for riſling the People, and laying new Impoſts, if they did but give thoſe Exactions a new Name.*

There aroſe on a ſudden, and as it were by Enchantment, magnificent Palaces, whoſe Walls, Roofs, and Ceilings were all gilded: It was not enough that their Beds and Tables were all of Silver; that rich Metal muſt alſo be carved and adorned with Baſſo Relievos, performed by the moſt excellent Artiſts —— All the Money of the State was in the Hands of the great Men, the Publicans, and certain Freed-men richer than their Maſters.

He ſays, *it would make a Volume to repreſent the Magnificence of their Buildings, the Richneſs of their Habits,*

bits, the Jewels they wore, the prodigious Number of Slaves, Freed-men and Clients, by which they were conſtantly attended, and eſpecially the Expence and Profuſion of their Tables: They were not contented, if in the midſt of Winter, the Falernian-Wine that was preſented them was not ſtrew'd with Roſes; and cooled in Veſſels of Gold in Summer: Their Side-Boards groaned under the Weight and Load of Plate, both Silver and Gold: They valued the Feaſt only by the Coſtlineſs of the Diſhes that were ſerved up; Pheaſants muſt be fetched for them through all the Dangers of the Sea; and to compleat their Corruption, after the Conqueſt of Aſia, *they began to introduce Women Singers and Dancers into their Entertainments.*

What Defenders of Liberty, ſays he, *are here? What an Omen of approaching Slavery? None could be greater, than to ſee Valour leſs regarded in a State than Luxury; to ſee the poor Officer languiſhing in the obſcure Honours of a Legion, whilſt the Grandees concealed their Cowardice, and dazzled the Eyes of the Publick by the Magnificence of their Equipage, and the Profuſion of their Expence.*

But what did all this Profuſion and Magnificence produce? Pleaſures ſucceeded in the Room of Temperance, Idleneſs took Place of the Love of Buſineſs, and private Regards extinguiſhed that Love of Liberty, and Zeal and Warmth which their Anceſtors had ſhewn for the Intereſt of the Publick; Luxury and Pride became faſhionable; all Ranks and Orders of Men tried to outvie one another in Expence and Pomp; and when by ſo doing they had ſpent their private Patrimonies, they endeavoured to make Repriſals upon the Publick; and having before ſold every Thing elſe, at laſt ſold their Country.

The publick Treaſure was ſquandred away, and divided amongſt private Men, and new Demands made, and new Taxes and Burthens laid upon the People, to continue and ſupport this Extravagance. Such Conduct in the Great Ones, occaſioned Murmurings, univerſal Diſcontent, and at laſt Civil Wars.

The

The People threw themſelves under different Heads or Leaders of Parties, who all aſpired to make themſelves Maſters of the Commonwealth, and of the Publick Liberty; and during the Struggle, *Rome* and all *Italy* was but one Slaughter-Houſe. Thouſands, Hundreds of Thouſands, fell Sacrifices to the Ambition of a Few: Rivers of Blood run in the publick Streets, and Proſcriptions and Maſſacres were eſteemed Sport and Paſtime; till at length, two Thirds of the People were deſtroy'd, and the reſt made Slaves to the moſt wicked and contemptible Wretches of Mankind.

Thus ended the greateſt, the nobleſt State that ever adorned the worldly Theatre, that ever the Sun ſaw: It fell a Victim to Ambition and Faction, to baſe and unworthy Men, to Parricides and Traytors: And every other Nation muſt run the ſame Fortune, expect the ſame fatal Cataſtrophe, who ſuffer themſelves to be debauch'd with the ſame Vices, and are actuated by the ſame Principles and Paſſions.

I wiſh I could ſay, that *Abbot Vertot*'s Deſcription of the *Roman* State, in its laſt Declenſion, ſuited no other State in our own Time. I hope we our ſelves have none of theſe Corruptions and Abuſes to complain of: I am ſure if we have, it is high Time to reform them, and to prevent the diſmal Evils they threaten. It is wild to think there is any other way to prevent the Conſequence, without preventing the Corruption, the Cauſes which produce them: Mankind will be always the ſame, will always act within one Circle: and when we know what they did a thouſand Years ago, in any Circumſtance, we ſhall know what they do a thouſand Years hence in the ſame. This is what is called Experience, the ſureſt Miſtreſs and Leſſon of Wiſdom.

Let us therefore grow wiſe by others Misfortunes: Let us make uſe of the *Roman* Language, as a Vehicle of good Senſe, and uſeful Inſtruction; and not uſe it like Pedants, Prieſts and Pedagogues. Let their Virtues and their Vices, and the Puniſhment of them too, be an Example to us, and ſo prevent

our

our Miſeries from being an Example to other Nations: Let us avoid the Rocks upon which they have ſuffer'd Shipwreck, and ſet up Buoys and Sea-Marks to warn and guide Poſterity. In fine, let us examine and look narrowly into every Part of our Conſtitution, and ſee if any Corruptions or Abuſes are crept, or gallop'd into it. Let us ſearch our Wounds to the Core, without which it is beyond the Power of Surgery to apply ſuitable Remedies.

Our preſent Misfortunes will rouſe up our Spirits, and as it were awaken us out of a deep Lethargy: It is true indeed, that they came upon us like a Storm of Thunder and Lightning in a clear Sky, and when the Heavens ſeem'd moſt ſerene; but the combuſtible Matter was prepared before: Steams and Exhalations had been long gathering from *Bogs* and *Jakes*; and tho' they ſome time ſeem'd diſpers'd and far removed by the Heat of a warm Sun, yet the Firmament was all the while impregnating with Fire and Brimſtone, and now on a ſudden the Clouds thicken, and look black and big on every Side, and threaten us with a Hurricane.

Let us therefore act the Part of skilful Pilots, and call all Hands to labour at the Oars and the *Ropes*: Let us begin with throwing all our *Luggage* and *uſeleſs Trumpery* over-board; then let us lower or take down all ſuperfluous Sails, to prevent the Boat from being over-ſet; and when we have done all in our Power to ſave the Ship, let us implore the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, and I doubt not but we ſhall out-ride the Storm.

Quid times? Cæſarem vehis. —— We have King GEORGE on Board, and at the Helm; the Favourite of Heaven, and the Darling of all good Men; who not only gives us full Leave, but encourages and aſſiſts us to ſave our ſelves: He will not, like ſome weak Princes amongſt his Predeceſſors, skreen guilty Great Men, ſuffer others Faults to be laid at his Door, nor permit his Authority to be proſtituted to patronize Criminals, or interpoſe and ſtand between his Peoples juſt Reſentment and the Puniſhment of

worthleſs Favourites, of which ſort of Cattle he has none; ſo that it is our own Fault if we are not *Happy*, *Great* and *Free*.

Indeed, we owe that Juſtice and Duty to our great Benefactor, as not only fairly and impartially to repreſent to him our Circumſtances, and how we came into them; but to do all in our Power to put our Conſtitution on ſuch a Bottom, if any thing is wanting to it, that he may have the Honour and Pleaſure of Reigning over a free and happy People. This will be to make our Gift compleat, in preſenting him with a Crown, not beſet with any Difficulties; a glorious Crown, and not mock him with one of Thorns.

I ſhall ſoon, in ſome other Letter, offer my Thoughts from what Sources theſe Miſchiefs have flowed upon us, and what Methods I conceive are eſſentially neceſſary to retreive them.

I am, SIR,
Your old Friend,
CATO.

NUMB. XXIV.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR,

OPINION and Reputation have often the greateſt Share in governing the Affairs of the World. Miſled by the great Byaſs of Superſtition, every where found in humane Nature, or by Ignorance and Prejudices proceeding as often from Education it ſelf, as from the Want of it, we often take the Appearance of Things for Things themſelves, and miſtake our own Imaginations for Realities, and our Deluſions for Certainties and Truth. A very ſmall

Part

Part of Mankind is exempted from the deluſive Influence of Omens, Preſages and Prognoſticks.

THIS and the like Superſtitions enter into every Scene of private and publick Life. Gameſters throw away the Cards and Dice they loſt by, and call for others, without any other Preference than that they are not the very ſame. Gardeners pretend to plant Trees in a fortunate Seaſon: Many People will not marry, or do any Buſineſs, but on certain Days accounted proſperous; and even Generals have had their fortunate and unfortunate Times and Seaſons, and have often declined coming to a Battle, when the Advantage was apparently on their ſide, meerly becauſe the Day, or Time of the Day, was ill boding.

Now, tho' all the Whimſies of this kind have no Foundation, but in Opinion, yet they often produce as certain and regular Events, as if the Cauſes were adequate in their own Nature to the Events. The Opinion of a Phyſician or a Medicine does often effect the Cure of a Patient, by giving to his Mind ſuch Eaſe and Acquieſcence as can alone produce Health. The Opinion of a General, or of a Cauſe, makes an Army fight with double Vigour; and a Confidence in the Wiſdom and Integrity of Governours, makes a Nation exert its utmoſt Efforts for its own Security; whereas by a diſtruſt of its Rulers, it often ſinks into a univerſal Indifference and Deſpondency. The Change alone of a General, or a Miniſter, has often chang'd the Succeſs of a People, even where there has been no ſuperiour Endowments in the Succeſſor; for if they can be made to believe, that their Misfortunes are owing to the ill Conduct or ill Genius of thoſe who command them, the Removal of the ſuppoſed Cauſe of their Misfortunes will inſpire them with new Courage and Reſolution, which are almoſt always rewarded with Succeſs and Victory.

From hence the moſt famous Legiſlators, Princes and Generals have endeavoured to inſtill in their Followers an Opinion of their being more than humane, as being deſcended from, or related to ſome

God; or have aſſerted a familiar Communication with them, and a Right to explain their Wills, and execute their Commands: By theſe Means they obtain'd an unlimited Confidence in their Abilities, a cheerful Submiſſion to their Authority, and an Aſſurance of Succeſs under their Conduct.

Where perſonal Virtues and Qualifications, *by which the above Pretenſions are ſupported*, are wanting, as in the ſucceſſive Eaſtern Monarchies, there other Arts are uſed to gain Admiration, and draw Reverence to the Perſons of their Princes, and blind Obedience to their Power. Thoſe ſtately Tyrants are, for the moſt part, ſhut up in their Palaces, where every Thing is Auguſt about them: They ſeldom ſhew themſelves abroad to their People; and when they do, it is in the moſt awful and aſtoniſhing Manner, attended by numerous Guards, richly habited, and armed; whilſt their own Perſons are ſo covered with Pearl, and glittering with Diamonds; and perhaps the Horſes and Elephants they ride on, are all in a blaze of Gold and precious Stones.

THE demure Faces and deep Silence of their Miniſters and Attendants, contribute to ſpread the general Awe; which is ſtill heighten'd by the ſolemn Clangor of Trumpets, and other warlike Sounds. All this prepares the gaping and enchanted Multitude to ſwallow with equal Credulity and Wonder, the plauſible Stories artfully given out amongſt them, of the ſublime and celeſtial Qualities of their Emperors, inſomuch that even their very Images are worſhip'd.

INDEED, in Countries where Liberty is eſtabliſhed, and People think for themſelves, all the above Arts and Pretences would be ridiculous, and ſuch Farce and Grimace would be laugh'd at: The People have Senſe enough to know that all this Profuſion and Wealth are their own Spoils; that they muſt labour and want, that others may be idle and abound; and they will ſee that their Poverty is encreaſed, and their Miſeries aggravated and mocked by the Pomp and Luxury of their Maſters.

AMONGST ſuch People, virtuous and juſt Actions, or the Appearance of virtuous and juſt Actions, are the only Ways of gaining Eſteem, Reverence, and Submiſſion: They muſt ſee, or fancy they ſee, that the Views and Meaſures of their Governours tend honeſtly and only to the publick Welfare and Proſperity, and they muſt find their own Account in their Obedience. A Prince, who deals thus with his People, can rarely be in danger from diſaffected Subjects or powerful Neighbours; his faithful People will be his conſtant guard, and finding their own Security in his Government, will be always ready at his Call to take effectual Vengeance upon thoſe, who ſhall attempt to oppoſe or undermine his juſt Authority.

HOWEVER, the wiſeſt and moſt free People are not without their Superſtitions and their Foibles, and prudent Governours will take Advantage of them, and endeavour to apply them to the publick Benefit. The *Romans* themſelves had their *Dies faſtos & nefaſtos*, their fortunate and unfortunate Generals, and ſometimes empty Names have been eſteemed Endowments and Merit. Another *Scipio* was appointed by the *Romans* to demoliſh *Carthage*, which was firſt ſubdued by the Great *Scipio*, and the *Athenians* called for another *Phormio* for their War at *Lepanto*.

GENERALS and Miniſters have been oftentimes diſgraced, *even by wiſe Nations*, for making unfortunate Expeditions, or for unfortunate Conduct in directing the publick Affairs, when there was no Deceit, or want of Virtue in thoſe Generals and Miniſters; for if a Nation or an Army takes an univerſal, tho' an unreaſonable Diſguſt, at one or few Men, it's ridiculous to bring his or their Intereſt in Ballance with the Satisfaction and Affections of Millions, or much leſs than Millions. Prudent Princes therefore have been always extremely cautious how they employ'd Men in any conſiderable Station, who were either odious or contemptible, even tho' it happen'd that they were innocently and unfortunately ſo.

INDEED this can ſeldom happen, for a virtuous and modeſt Man will never thruſt himſelf into the

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Service of his Prince, nor continue longer in it, than he is acceptable to the People: He will know that he can do no real good to the Country, that will receive no good at his Hands; that the publick Jealouſy will miſrepreſent his whole Conduct, and render his beſt Deſigns abortive, and his beſt Actions uſeleſs; that he will be a Clog and a dead Weight upon the Affairs of his Prince; and that the general Diſtaſte taken at him, will by Degrees make his Prince the Object of general Diſtaſte.

BUT when Miniſters have deſervedly incurr'd the general Hatred; *when* they have been known to have employed their whole Power and Intereſt in oppoſition to the publick Intereſt; *when* being truſted with a Nation's Affairs, they have deſperately projected, and obſtinately purſued Schemes big with publick Ruin; *when* they have weakened the Authority of their Prince to ſtrengthen their own, and endangered his Safety for the Security of their own Heads, and the Protection of their Crimes; *when* they have thriven by the Publick Ruin, and being the known Authors of univerſal Calamities, have become the proper Objects of ſuch univerſal Deteſtation, as not to have one real Friend in their Country, or one ſincere Advocate even amongſt the many they have bribed to be ſo: If, after all this, they will go on to brave a Nation which they had before ruined, confidently continue at the Head of Affairs, and obſtinately perſiſt to overturn their King and Country; this, I ſay, is aggravating their Crimes, by an Inſolence, which no publick Reſentment can equal.

THIS was the Caſe of *England* under the Influence of *Gaveſton* and the two *Spencers*; and this was the Caſe of the *Netherlands* under the Adminiſtration of the Duke of *Alva*; which Miniſters ſeverally ruined their Maſters and their Country: Nations under ſuch woeful Conduct and unlucky Conſtellations, are often driven into Revolts, or loſe all Courage to defend themſelves, either againſt the Attacks from their Native Traytors, or Foreign Invaders.

THIS

THIS is famouſly verified in the Story of the *Decemviri*, a College of Magiſtrates created by the *Romans* for one Year, to compile and eſtabliſh a Body of Laws: This Term was thought long enough, and undoubtedly was ſo; but theſe deſigning Men, under the plauſible Colour of adding Two more Tables to the Ten already finiſhed and publiſhed, got their Sitting prolonged for another Year; nor at the Expiring of that, though the two Tables were added, did they diſſolve themſelves; but in Defiance of the People who choſe them, and now every where murmured againſt them, as well as ſuffered by them, continued their Authority.

THE City of *Rome* ſaw it ſelf under a new Government, *Deploratur in perpetuum libertas nex vindex quiſquam extitit aut futurus videtur*: The Conſtitution was gone, and tho' all Men complained, yet none offered to help. Whilſt the *Romans* were thus deſponding at Home, they were deſpiſed Abroad: The neighbouring Nations were provoked, that Dominion ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt in a City where Liberty ſubſiſted no longer. The *Roman* Territories therefore were invaded by the *Sabins* and the *Æquians*. This terrified the Faction, but I do not find it troubled the People, who neither feared nor hated foreign Invaders half ſo much as their own Domeſtick Traytors. The deſperate Parricides determined rather to ſacrifice their Country than loſe their Places; ſo to War they went, but with miſerable Succeſs. They managed the War no better than they did the State, and had no more Credit in the Camp than in the City: The Soldiers would not fight under deteſted Leaders, but ran away before the Enemy, and ſuffered a ſhameful Rout.

NOR did this Loſs and Diſgrace, at once unuſual and terrible to *Rome*, at all move the Traytors to reſign: They went on miſgoverning and debauching, till the Meaſures of their Wickedneſs being full, they were diven out of their Poſts by the Vigour of the *Senate*, and the Aſſiſtance of the People. The

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two chief Traytors were caſt into Priſon, and the reſt into Baniſhment.

THIS ſoon happily changed the State of Affairs, and the Spirit of the People; who, having got at length an honeſt Adminiſtration, and Governors whom they loved and truſted, quickly beat the Enemy out of the Territories of *Rome*; *that very Enemy*, who in other Circumſtances had beaten them.

I am, SIR,

Your old Friend,

CATO.

NUMB. XXV.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR, *March* 11, 1720.

PARCERE *ſubjectis & debellare ſuperbos*; to pay well and hang well, to protect the Innocent, and puniſh the Oppreſſors, are the Hinges and Ligaments of Government, the chief Ends of Mens entering into Societies: To attain theſe Ends, they have been content to part with their natural Rights, a great Share of their Subſtance and Induſtry; to quit their Equality, and ſubmit themſelves to thoſe who had before no Right to command them. For this, Millions live willingly in an innocent and ſafe Obſcurity, to make a few great Men, and enable them at their Expence to ſhine in Pomp and Magnificence.

But all this Pageantry is not deſigned for thoſe who wear it: They carry about them the Dignity of the Commonwealth: The Honours they receive are Honours paid to the Publick, and they themſelves are only the Pillars and Images upon which National Trophies are hung; for when they are diveſted of theſe *Inſignia*, no more Reſpect and Homage is due to them, than what reſults from their own Virtue and Merit: Yet ſuch is the Depravity of humane Nature, that few can diſtinguiſh their own Perſons from the Enſigns and Ornaments they wear, or their Duty from their Dignity: There ſeems to be a Judgment upon all Men in certain Stations, that they can never think of the Time when they have been, or may again be out of them.

A good Magiſtrate is the brighteſt Character upon Earth, as being moſt conducive to the Benefit of Mankind; and a bad one is a greater Monſter than ever Hell engendred: He is an Enemy and Traytor to his own Species: Where there

is the greateſt Truſt, the betraying it is the greateſt Treaſon. The Faſces, the Judge, and the Executioner do not make the Crime, but puniſh it; and the Crime is never the leſs, tho' it eſcapes the Vengeance due to it. *Alexander*, who robbed Kingdoms and States, was a greater Felon than the Pyrate he put to death, though no One was ſtrong enough to inflict the ſame Puniſhment upon him. It is no more juſt to rob with Regiments or Squadrons, than by ſingle Men, or ſingle Ships; for unleſs we are determined by the Juſtice of the Action, there can be no Criterion, Boundary, or fix'd Mark, to know where the Thief ends and the Heroe begins.

Muſt little Villains then ſubmit to Fate,
That great Ones may enjoy the World in State?

Shall a poor Pickpocket be hanged for filching away a little looſe Money, and wholeſale Thieves, who rob Nations of all they have, be eſteemed and honoured? Shall a Roguery be ſanctified by the Greatneſs of it, and Impunity be purchaſed, by deſerving the higheſt Puniſhment? This is inverting the Nature of Things, confounding Virtue and Vice, and turning the World topſy turvy.

Men who are advanced to great Stations, and are highly honoured and rewarded at the Publick Coſt, ought to look upon themſelves as Creatures of the Publick, as Machines erected and ſet up for publick Emolument and Safety. They ought to reflect, that thouſands, ten thouſands of their Countrymen have equal, or perhaps greater Qualifications than themſelves, and that blind Fortune alone has given them their preſent Diſtinction: That the Eſtate of the Freeholder, the Hazard of the Merchant, and the Sweat of the Labourer, all contribute to their Greatneſs; and when once they can ſee themſelves in this Mirrour, they will think nothing can be too grateful, nothing too great or too hazardous to be done for ſuch Benefactors.

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They will conſider that no uncommon Application, or diſtinguiſhing Abilities will juſtify this Superiority; that many of their Fellow-Subjects, poſſeſſing equal Merit, take much more pains for much leſs Conſiderations; nay, that the Buſineſs of their own Employments is moſtly executed by inferior Officers for ſmall Rewards; and conſequently their great Appointments are given to ſecure their Fidelity, and put them far above, and out of the Reach of Bribery and Corruption: They ought not to have a Thought which is mean or little: Their Minds are not to be in the Dirt, whilſt their Heads are in the Clouds: They ought to infuſe and inſpire Virtue, Reſolution, and publick Spirit into the inactive Maſs, and be illuſtrious Examples of every great and noble Quality.

But if they can ſink ſo low beneath themſelves; if they can ſo far deſcend from the Dignity of their Characters; if they can chuſe ſo to grovel upon the Earth, when they may aſcend to the Heavens; and be ſo poor and abject, as to combine and confederate with Pickpockets and common Rogues; betray their moſt ſolemn Truſts, and employ all their Power and Credit to deſtroy that People, whom they have every Motive, which Heaven and Earth can ſuggeſt, to protect and defend; then, I ſay, ſuch Wretches ought to be the Scorn and Deteſtation of every honeſt Man; and new Kinds of Vengeance, new Tortures, and new Engines of Miſery ought to be invented, to make their Puniſhments as much exceed common Puniſhments, as their Crimes exceed thoſe of the worſt ſort of common Malefactors, and as their Rewards ſurpaſs thoſe of the beſt and worthieſt Citizens in other Stages of Life and Circumſtances of Fortune.

There is no Analogy between the Crimes of private Men, and thoſe of publick Magiſtrates: The firſt terminate in the Death or Sufferings of ſingle Perſons; the others ruin Millions, ſubvert

the Policy and Oeconomy of Nations, and create general Want, and its Conſequences, Diſcontents, Inſurrections, and Civil Wars at home, and often make them a Prey to watchful Enemies abroad. But amongſt the Crimes which regard a State, *Peculatus*, or robbing the Publick, is the greateſt; becauſe upon the careful and frugal Adminiſtration of the publick Treaſure, the very Being of the Commonwealth depends. It is what my Lord *Coke* calls it, *tutela Pacis & firmamentum belli:* And the embezling it is Death by the Civil Law, and ought to be ſo by all Laws. It is the worſt ſort of Treaſon, as it draws all other ſorts of Treaſon after it: It diſconcerts all the Meaſures of Government, and lays the Groundwork of Seditions, Rebellions, and all Kinds of publick Miſeries.

But theſe, as well as all other Crimes which affect the Publick, receive their Aggravation according to the Greatneſs of the Perſons who commit them; not only as their Rewards are larger, and their Temptations leſs, but as their Example recommends, and, as it were, authorizes and gives a Licence to Wickedneſs. No one dares to puniſh another for an Offence, which he knows, and the other knows, that he every Day commits himſelf. One Great Man, who gets an hundred thouſand Pounds by cheating the Publick, muſt wink and connive at an hundred others who ſhall wrong it of ten thouſand Pounds each, and they at ten times as many more who ſhall defraud it of a thouſand; and ſo on in leſſer Progreſſion, till the greateſt Part of the Publick Revenue is ſwallowed and devoured by *great* and little Plunderers.

It is therefore of the utmoſt Importance to the Security and Happineſs of any State, to puniſh in the moſt exemplary manner, all thoſe who are intruſted by it, and betray that Truſt: It becomes the Wiſdom of a Nation, to give ten thouſand Pounds to purchaſe a Head, which cheats it of Sixpence: *Valerius Maximus* calls *Severity, the ſure*

Preſerver

Preſerver and Avenger of Liberty: It is as neceſſary for the preventing of Tyranny, as for the ſupport of it. After the Death of the Sons of *Brutus*, executed by the Command of their own Father, and in his Preſence, we hear no more of any Conſpirators in *Rome* to reſtore the *Tarquins*; and had *Marius*, *Cæſar*, and other Corrupters of the People met with the ſame Puniſhment, that glorious Commonwealth might have ſubſiſted to this Day. Lenity to great Crimes is an Invitation to greater; whereas deſpair of Pardon, for the moſt part, makes Pardon uſeleſs: If no Mercy were ſhewn to the Enemies of a State, no State would be overturned; and if ſmall or no Puniſhment is inflicted upon them, no State can be ſafe.

Happy, happy had it been for this unhappy People, if theſe important and eſſential Maxims of Government had been duly regarded by our Legiſlators at the *Revolution*; and I wiſh too, the ſincere and hearty Endeavours of our preſent Legiſlators to puniſh the Betrayers of the late unfortunate Queen had met the deſired Succeſs; for I doubt all our Misfortunes have flowed from theſe Sources, and are owing to theſe Diſappointments.

All *Europe* ſaw, and all good Men in it lamented to ſee, a mighty Nation brought to the Brink of Deſtruction by weak and contemptible Inſtruments; its Laws ſuperſeded, its Courts of Juſtice corrupted, its Legiſlature laid aſide, its Liberties ſubverted, its Religion overturned, and a new one almoſt introduced, a violent and deſpotick Government aſſumed, which was ſupported by Legions and an armed Force: They ſaw this brave People riſe under the Oppreſſion, and like *Antæus* gather Strength by their Fall: They call'd for the Aſſiſtance of the next Heir to the Crown to avenge himſelf and them; and when they had by his Aſſiſtance removed the Uſurpation, rewarded him with the preſent Poſſeſſion of the Crown: But when they had all the deſired Succeſs, and

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ſubdued all they had fought with, they ſoon found, that, by the Treachery and Corruption of their Leaders, they had loſt all that they had fought for.

Inſtead of compleating their Deliverance, by puniſhing the Authors of their Calamities, and ſacrificing them to the Manes of their once loſt Liberties, upon the moſt diligent Search, there was not a guilty Perſon to be found; not one who had contributed to their Misfortunes. Three Kingdoms had been undone by Male-Adminiſtration, and no Body had a Hand in it. This Tergiverſation gave freſh Heart and Courage to the deſpairing Faction: Some imputed it to Weakneſs and Fear; others to a Conſciouſneſs of Guilt for what we had done; and all cried out aloud, if there were no Criminals, there could be no Crimes; whilſt all honeſt Men ſtood amazed and covered with Shame and Confuſion at theſe Proceedings.

All the while our new Betrayers rioted in their Sun-ſhine, laugh'd at the unſeaſonable Simplicity and Folly of a few Whimſicals, who did not know what a Revolution was good for: They would not make a Rod for themſelves: On the contrary, numberleſs were their Projects and Stratagems to amaſs Riches and increaſe their Power. They encouraged and protected a general Prodigality dan Corruption, and ſo brought the Kingdom into the greateſt Neceſſities, and then took Advantage of thoſe Neceſſities: They got publick Money into their Hands, and then lent that Money to the Publick again for great Præmiums, and at great Intereſt, and afterwards ſquandred it away to make room for new Projects: They made Bargains for themſelves, by borrowing in one Capacity what they lent in another; and by a right Uſe of their prior Intelligence, and Knowledge of their own Intentions, they wholly governed the National Credit, and raiſed and depreſs'd it at their Pleaſure, and as they ſaw their Advantage;

by

by which Means they beggar'd the People, and mortgaged all the Lands and the Stock of the Kingdom, tho' not (like the righteous *Joseph*) to their Maſter, but to themſelves.

Thus the *Revolution* and the Principles of Liberty ran backwards again. The baniſhed *Tarquin* conceived new Hopes, and made new Attempts for a Reſtauration; all who had ſhared in the Benefits of the former wicked Adminiſtration; all thoſe who had ever been the avowed Enemies to an equal Government and impartial Liberty; all the grim Inquiſitors, who had aſſumed an uncontroulable Sovereignty over the free and ungovernable Mind, who have ever pretended a divine Right to Roguery; united in his Intereſt: With theſe joined the Riotous, the Debauched, the Neceſſitous, the poor deluded Bigots, as well as all ſuch as had not received Rewards equal to their fancied Merit, and could not bear to ſee others revel in Advantages, which their own Ambition and Covetouſneſs had before ſwallowed for themſelves.

This formidable Party combined againſt the new eſtabliſhed Government, made Earnings of the Miſcarriages and Corruptions of thoſe Miſcreants, who by their vile and mercenary Conduct betrayed the beſt Prince and beſt Cauſe in the World, and ſeveral times had almoſt overturned the new reſtored Liberty; but that the Gratitude and perſonal Love of the People to that great Prince, and the freſh and lively remembrance of the Evils they had ſuffered, or had been like to have ſuffered, from the abdicated Family, ſtill preſerved him upon the Throne, in ſpight of all Attempts to the contrary. However, proper Advantages were not taken, neither in this nor the following Reign, from the many Defeats of this reſtleſs Faction, which might have ſettled the *Revolution* upon ſuch a Baſis, as not to be ſhaken but together with the Foundations of the Earth. There was always a Lyon in the way: The Higure,

gure, or the Number of the Conſpirators, or the Difficulty of Diſcovery, or their Intereſt, Alliance, or Confederacy with Men in Power, were the Reaſons whiſper'd; but the true one was concealed, namely, that one guilty Perſon durſt not heartily proſecute another: The Criminals had Stories to tell, Secrets not fit to be divulged; for an innocent and virtuous Man alone dares undertake to bring a great Villain to deſerved Puniſhment: None but a *Brutus* could have deſtroyed *Brutus*'s Sons.

Nothing was ever done to rectify or regulate the Education of Youth, the Source of all our other Evils; but Schools of Literature were ſuffered to continue under the Direction of the Enemies to all ſound Literature and publick Virtue: Liberty, being deſerted by her old Friends, fell of Courſe into the Hands of her Enemies, and ſo Liberty was turned upon Liberty: By theſe Means, the Diſcontents were fomented, the Evils ſtill encreaſed, and the Conſpirators ſtill went on. They had now got new Tools to work with, juſt forged, and ſent glowing hot from the Univerſities: A new Generation aroſe and appeared upon the publick Stage, who had never ſeen or felt the Misfortunes which their Fathers groaned under, nor believed more of them than what they had learned from their Tutors; ſo that all things ſeem'd prepared for a new Revolution, when we were ſurprized by a Voice from Heaven, which promiſed us another Deliverance.

We have at laſt, by the bounteous Gift of indulgent Providence, a moſt excellent King, and a wiſe and uncorrupt Parliament; and yet—But what ſhall I ſay, or what ſhall be left unſaid?—I will go on.—— We have a Prince, I ſay, who is poſſeſſed of every Virtue which can grace and adorn a Crown; a Parliament too, than whom *England* has never choſen one better diſpoſed to do all thoſe Things, which every honeſt Man in it wiſhed, and called for, and yet—— by the Iniquity,

Iniquity of the Times, or the Iniquities of particular Men, we are ſtill to expect our Deliverance, though I hope we ſhall not expect it long.

Publick Corruptions and Abuſes have grown upon us: Fees in moſt, if not in all Offices are immenſely increaſed: Places and Employments, which ought not to be ſold at all, are ſold for treble Values: The Neceſſities of the Publick have made greater Impoſitions unavoidable, and yet the Publick has run very much in Debt; and as thoſe Debts have been encreaſing, and the People growing poor, Salaries have been augmented, and Penſions multiplied: I mean in the laſt Reign, for I hope there have been no ſuch Doings in this.

Our common Rogues now ſcorn little Pilferings and in the dark; 'tis all publick Robbery, and at Noon Day; nor is it, as formerly, for ſmall Sums, but for the Ranſom of Kings, and the Pay of Armies: Figures of Hundreds and Thouſands have loſt their Uſe in Arithmetick: Plumbs alone are thought worth gathering, and they no longer ſignify Hundreds of Thouſands, but Millions: One great Man, who is ſaid in a former Reign to have plundered a Million and a Half, has made his Succeſſors think as much to be their Due too: Poſſeſſion of great Sums is thought to give a Title to thoſe Sums; and the Wealth of Nations is meaſured out and divided amongſt private Men, not (as by the *Weſt-India* Pirates) with Shovels, but by Waggons.

The Dregs of the People and the Scum of the *Alley* can buy *Italian* and *German* Sovereigns out of their Territories; and their Levies have been lately crowded with Swarms of dependent Princes, like *Roman* Conſuls and *Eaſtern* Monarchs; and I am told, that ſome of them have been ſeen aſcending to, and deſcending from their Chariots, while they leaned upon the Necks of proſtrate Grandees. Oh Liberty! ſtop thy Flight. Oh Virtue! be ſomething more than a Name and empty Sound: Re-

turn, oh return! and inſpire and aſſiſt our illuſtrious Legiſlators in the great Work they have ſo generouſly undertaken: Aſſiſt, aſſiſt, if it be but to ſave thoſe who have always devoutly worſhip'd thee, and have paid conſtant Incenſe at thy Altars.

But what ſhall be done? where is the Remedy for all theſe Evils? We hope for it, we expect it, we ſee it; and we call for it, from the healing Hands of our moſt gracious King, and his dutiful Parliament. There is a Criſis in the Health of Governments, as well as of private Perſons. When Diſtempers are at the Worſt, they muſt mend, or the Patient dies: And when the Caſe is deſperate, bold and reſolute Methods muſt be taken, or he will be ſuffer'd to die for fear of his dying. —— What then is this Remedy? —— We muſt begin with letting out ſome of our adulterate and corrupt Blood, one Drop of which is enough to contaminate the Ocean: We muſt firſt take full Vengeance of all thoſe we can diſcover to be guilty, and uſe them as Citizens do Shoplifters, that is, make thoſe who are caught, pay for all that is ſtolen. Let us not, Oh, let us not ſuffer the Sins of all *Iſrael* to be at this Time of Day laid upon the Head of the Scape-Goat.

When we have taken this firſt and neceſſary Step to prevent an Apoplexy or malignant Eruptions, let us preſcribe ſtrong Emeticks, proper Sudorificks, and effectual Purgatives, to bring up or throw off the noxious Juices and morbifick Matter that oppreſſes us, and ſo wholly to eradicate the Cauſes of our Diſtemper. *But above all, and for the ſake of all*, let us avoid the Beginning with Lenitives and palliating Medicines, which will only cover and foment our Evils, make them break out more violently, and at laſt perhaps turn into dangerous Swellings and epidemical Plague-Sores, and by ſuch Means ſpread a general Infection: Let us not ſuffer any of our great or little Rogues to eſcape publick Vengeance.

When

When we have, by theſe vigorous Methods, removed the peccant Humours which are the Springs and Sources of our Diſtemper, let us uſe proper Applications, gentle Remedies, and wholſome Diet, to correct and rectify the Maſs of remaining Blood, to invigorate and renew our Conſtitution, reſtore it to its firſt Principles, and make it ſound and active again: Let us ſee where it abounds and where it wants, and whether the Sanguine, the Flegmatick or the Billious predominate, andreduce them all to a properBallance: Let us look back and examine ſtrictly, by what Neglect, by what Steps and Gradations of Intemperance or Folly we are brought into the preſent Condition, and reſolve to avoid them for the future.

Let us try no more Projects, no more knaviſh Experiments; let us have no more Quacking, no more to do with Expericks. Let us act openly and above-board for the Publick Intereſt, and not hang out falſe Colours to catch unweary Preys. Let us plainly tell at firſt what we mean, and all we mean: If 'tis honeſt and advantageous, every good Man will defend it, and aſſiſt in it; if otherwiſe, it ought not to be defended at all.

This is the Way, and the only Way, to preſerve and long continue the ineſtimable Bleſſing of our preſent Eſtabliſhment: Let the People ſee the Benefit of the Change, and there is no fear that they will be againſt their own Intereſt; but State Quacks may harangue and ſwear till they are black in the Face, before they will perſwade any one to believe that he is in perfect Health, who feels himſelf ſick at Heart. Men in ſuch Circumſtances are always reſtleſs, always tumbling about from Side to Side, and changing every Poſture for preſent Eaſe, and ſo often bring Death upon themſelves, by trying prepoſterous Remedies to avoid it.

Adieu, till another Occaſion worthy of the great *Cato*, calls again for *Cato*'s Help, and then you ſhall be ſure again to hear from me.

Non Deus interſit niſi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.

I am, SIR,

Your old Friend,

CATO.

NUMB. XXVI.

To the Author of the London Journal.

John Ketch, Eſq; ſendeth Greeting.

SIR,

IN a general Call for Juſtice from an injur'd Nation, I beg leave to put in my Voice, being myſelf an eminent Sufferer in the ill Fate of my Country, which no otherwiſe gains than as I do, by the Exaltation of Rogues. Our Intereſts, in this reſpect are the ſame. And as it would be very hard that the Bloodſuckers of the People ſhould not make the People ſome Amends, by reſtoring the Blood they have ſuck'd; ſo it would be as hard that I, who am the Finiſher of Juſtice, ſhould not have Juſtice done me.

From my beſt Obſervation upon publick Affairs, laſt Summer, I promiſed myſelf that I ſhould certainly have full Hands this laſt Winter: I thereupon applied myſelf with ſingular Diligence to gain the utmoſt Perfection and Skill in the Calling wherein God and the Law hath placed me: For,

I did

I did not think it at all laudable, or agreeable to a good Conſcience, to accept of a Poſt, without proper Talents and Experience, to execute the ſame; *however cuſtomary and common ſuch a Practice might be*: And therefore, without perſuming to follow the illuſtrious Example of my *Betters*, in this Matter, I thought it became me to become my Poſt. In truth, *Sir*, if this Maxim had prevailed, where it ſhould have prevailed; and if my Brother in Place had as well underſtood, and as honeſtly executed, their ſeveral Truſts, as I do mine, we ſhould have had a very different Face of Things, nor would I have had Occaſion for *Journeymen*.

Thus, *Sir*, I was firmly and honeſtly reſolved that the Execution of Juſtice ſhould not ſtick *with me*, where-ever elſe it ſtuck. Moreover, at a Time when every Thing, *but Honeſty*, bore a double Price, I brough up a great Quantity of Silken Halters, for the ſole Uſe and Benefit of any of our Topping Pickpockets, who ſhould be found to have *noble* or *genteel* Blood about them. *N. B.* This Complement was not intended for the Directors, who muſt expect to wear the ſame valedictory Cravat, which is worn by ſmall Felons, who come under my Hands, every Seſſion: But I have ſet apart a good round Quantity of theſe delicate ſilken Turn-overs for the Benefit and Decoration of divers worthy Gentlemen, whom I have mark'd out for my Cuſtomers in the ——; but whom it would not be good Breeding in me, as yet, to name; but I hope they will prove rare Chaps.

I did likewiſe beſpeak, at leaſt, a dozen curious Axes, ſpick and ſpan new, with rare ſteel Edges; the fitteſt that could be made, for dividing nobly betwixt the Head and the Shoulders of any dignified and illuſtrious Cuſtomer of mine, who has, either by Birth, or by Place, a Right to die at the *Eaſt*-End of the Town.

Now,

Now, *Sir*, it unluckily happens, that I cannot pay for any of the Implements of National Juſtice, and of my Trade, till I have uſed them: And my Creditors, though they own me to be an honeſt Man, yet wanting Faith in all publick Officers, begin to fear that I ſhall never pay for them at all. It is, in truth, a ſenſible Diſcouragement to them and me, that I have had ſo little to do this Winter, when there appeared ſo much to be done in *my Way*. Sure never poor deſerving Hangman had ſuch a ſhameful Vocation.

As having a Poſt, I have conſequently the Honour of being a true Member of the Church of *England* as by Law eſtabli.n'd, and therefore under theſe Diſappointments I comfort myſelf with ſome Patience, and more Beer. I have beſides that, this further Conſolation, that if our Canary Birds find Wings to eſcape me, neither the Blame nor the Shame ſhall lie at *my Door*.

You ſee, Sir, I have Merits, and yet you ſee I labour under Diſcouragements enough to ſcare any Succeſſor of mine from accepting this neglected and pennileſs Poſt, till he has a ſufficient Sum of Money in Hand paid, and a good Penſion for Life, *as is uſual upon leſs Occaſions*, together with ample Proviſion for his Children after him.

But, in ſpight of all theſe Diſcouragements, I am determined to live in hopes of ſome topping Cuſtomers before the Seſſion is ended. The Publick and I muſt certainly get at laſt: God knows we have been eminent Sufferers; we have been defrauded on every ſide.

Being bred a Butcher, I can comfort my ſaid Cuſtomers with an Aſſurance, that I have a delicate and a ready Hand at *cutting* and *tying*; ſo let them take heart, the Pain is nothing, and will be ſoon over; I am only ſorry 'tis ſo long a coming: No Man can be pleaſed with being defrauded of his juſt Dues.

I have one Conſolation, Sir, which never leaves me, namely, that tho' my Poſt has not been ſo

profit-

profitable a one as for ſometime paſt it ſhould have been, yet it has been a *ſafe one*. I doubt not but many of my Brethren in Place would be glad if they could ſay as much. I am moreover of opinion, that my Poſt has for a Year paſt been one of the moſt honeſt and creditable Poſts in *England*; nor would I change Circumſtances or Characters with ſome that hold their Heads very high, and may hold them higher ſtill before I have done with them. I am ſure it cannot be denied, that the Hangman of *London* has for the above Space of Time been a reputable Officer, *in compariſon*—— The Truth is, they have got more Money than I, but I have more Reputation than they; and I hope ſoon to go Snacks with ſome of them in heir Money too.

I know that Knaves of State require a great deal of Form and Ceremony before they are committed to my Care, ſo that I am not much ſurpriz'd that I have not yet laid my Hands upon certain exalted Criminals. I hope however when they come, a good Number will come at once. But there is a Parcel of notorious and ſorry Sinners, called *Brokers*, Fellows of ſo little conſequence, that few of them have Reputation enough to ſtand Candidates for my Place, were the ſame vacant (which God forbid!) and yet Rogues ſo ſwoln with Guilt, that poor *Derwentwater* and *Kenmure* (my two laſt Cuſtomers) were Babes and petty Larceners to them. Now theſe are the Hang-Rogues I would be keeping my Hand in uſe with.

Sir, I have been with Counſel about them, and my Lawyer ſtands amazed that I have not had them already: 'But, ſays he, Mr. *Ketch*, I foreſaw 'that the Brokers were only the Pimps of *great* 'Rogues, who were themſelves the Pimps of '*greater*: So that were theſe Vermin to go up 'to *Tyburn*, they would draw many more after 'them, who would likewiſe draw others —— So 'depend upon it, the Lyon, if he can, will ſave

'the

' the Jackall: And hence it proceeds, Mr. *Ketch*, ' that tho' it is hard, yet it is not ſtrange, that ' thoſe Rogues, whom all Men wiſh in your ' Hands, are not yet there.'

He then told me how the Brokers have violated that Act of Parliament, which allows them but Two and Nine-pence for tranſacting a hundred Pounds Stock, by taking or rather exacting twenty Shillings, and ſometimes five Pounds. I hope when I come to ſtrip them, or to commute for ſtripping them, I ſhall be allowed to mete out to them the ſame Meaſure.

He told me likewiſe, that during the Reign of Roguery, they ſold for no Body but the Directors, and their Betters; whereas they were obliged in Duty to have ſold for all Men alike, who employed them. Their Office is an Office of Truſt, as well as that of the Directors. They act, or ought to act, under the Reſtrictions of an Act of Parliament, under the ſacred Obligation of an Oath, and under Ties and Penalties of a Bond; by all which they are obliged to diſcharge their Duty impartially betwixt Man and Man, and for one Man, as ſoon as another. Now it is well known that they broke their Truſt to the Publick; that they ceaſed to be common and indifferent Officers in the Alley; and yet retainingthe Name and Pretence of their Office, (by which they alſo retained the Power of deceiving,) they became only Spies and Lyars for the Directors and their Managers, and Sellers for them only. They were therefore Criminals of the *firſt Claſs*, and *principal Agents* in the publick Miſchief; for, had they not acted thus for one Side alone, the Directors could not have ſold out much at high Prices, nor would others have bought in at thoſe Prices: So that they are to be conſider'd not only as the Inſtruments of greater Traytors, though in that Character they are liable to be hang'd; but as wilful and deliberate Confederates with thoſe

thoſe Traytors, and conſequently merit every Puniſhment, which thoſe higher Traytors merit.

My Counſel ſaid too, that there were ſome Crimes of ſo high and malignant a Nature, that, in the Perpetation of them, all Acceſſaries were conſidered as Principals; That thoſe who held a Man till he was murdered, were Murtherers; That thoſe who voluntarily held a Candle to others, who robbed a Houſe, were themſelves Robbers; and that in committing of Treaſon, all are Traytors who have had a hand in that Treaſon.

He ſaid, that the Brokers were free Agents, independent of all Companies, and no more attach'd, in point of Duty, to the *South-Sea*, than to any other; That being *ſui juris* (as he called it) they could not excuſe there wicked Dealings by the pretended Commands and Authority of any Superiors, as ſome of the *South-Sea* Officers might plead, for that the Directors were not their Superiors: That their Rogueries therefore were voluntary and deliberate Rogueries; and that having wilfully ſinned with the Directors, they ought in Juſtice to ſuffer with the Directors, and hang with them.

He told me, that having Share of the Gain of Villany with the Directors, they ought to have their Share of the Halter too. They tranſacted great Sums for themſelves; tho' the Law, which eſtabliſh'd them, enacts, that they ſhall neither buy nor ſell for themſelves; which is highly reaſonable; for how can any Man tranſact honeſtly for another, whilſt he is ſelling to him his own Stock?

He ſaid, they deceived every Man into his own Ruin, and ruin'd the Nation to enrich the Directors and themſelves: They ſold their own Intereſt, and that of the Directors, under falſe and fictitious Names, contrary to the Obligation of their Bond to the City, which obliges them to declare the Name of the Seller to the Buyer, as well

well as the Name of the Buyer to the Seller; for they knew that no Man would have been willing to buy, had he known that the Brokers and Directors were in haſte to ſell. Thus they uſed falſe Dice, and blinded Men's Eyes to pick their Pockets. *And ſurely*, Mr. Ketch, ſays the Counſellor, *If he who picks a private Man's Pocket is to be hanged, the Rogues that pick the Pockets of the whole Country, ought to be hang'd, drawn, and quartered.*

But what was moſt remarkable of all in what the Counſel told me, and what indeed gives me moſt heart, is, that unleſs the Brokers are hang'd, it will be ſcarce poſſible any Body elſe ſhould be hang'd. If this be true, their Doom is certain, and I ſhall be able to ſupport my Squireſhip before *Eaſter*. For, ſurely we ſhall never ſave mighty Knaves, for the ſake of ſaving little ones; and if ſo be it is determined to gratify the Nation with a competent Store of Hanging and Beheading, certainly we muſt do every thing neceſſary thereunto.

'Now, ſays my Counſel, if the Brokers do not 'diſcover the Secrets which they beſt know, but 'which they will never diſcover, if they can ſave 'their Necks and Purſes without doing it; then, 'I doubt me, Juſtice will be impotent for want 'of Evidence. But, if they find that they can 'ſave nothing by their Silence, they will tell all 'to ſave ſomething. They are harden'd Rogues, 'and by falſe Oaths, and under-hand Dealing, 'will ſkreen all that are as bad as themſelves; 'but gripe them well, and ten to one but you 'ſqueeze the Truth out of them.

'For all which Reaſons, Mr. *Ketch*, (continued 'he) I hope ſoon to give you Joy of the *Bro-'kers*, as well as of *better Cuſtomers* —— And ſo he diſmiſs'd me, without taking a Fee; for, he told me, he conſider'd me as an eminent Sufferer, by having as yet got Nothing, where he wiſh'd I had, before this Time, got a great deal.

This,

This, Sir, is the Subſtance of what paſſed between us, for which I am ſo much obliged to him, that if ever he falls in my way, I'll uſe him with the like Generoſity; and I will owe you, Mr. *Journaliſt*, the ſame Favour, if you'll be ſo kind to publiſh this

If you knew me, Sir, you would own that I have valuable Talents, and am worth your Acquaintance. I am particularly poſſeſſed of a praiſe-worthy Induſtry, and an ardent Deſire of Buſineſs---- In truth, I care not to be idle; and yet it cruelly happens, that I have but one buſy Day in Six Weeks, and even then I could do twice as much. Beſides, having a tender Heart, it really affects me with Pity to be obliged to ſtrangle ſo many *Innocents* every Seſſions; poor harmleſs Offenders, that only commit Murders, and break open Houſes, and rob Men of Guineas and Half-Crowns, while wholeſale Plunderers, and mighty Rogues of Prey, the avowed Enemies and Hangmen of Honeſty, Trade, and Truth, the known Promoters of Villany, and the mercileſs Authors of Miſery, Want, and general Ruin, go on to ride in Coaches and Six, and to defy a People whom they have made poor and deſperate; potent Parricides, who have plundered more from this Kingdom in Six Months, than all the private Thieves and Highwaymen ever did, or could do, ſince the Creation.

Sir, I repeat it, that the hanging of ſuch poor Felons only, as things now ſtand, is comparatively ſhedding *innocent* Blood: And ſo, for the eaſe of my Mind, I beg that I may have thoſe ſent me, whom I may truſs up with a ſafe Conſcience. My Teeth particularly water, and my Bowels yearn at the Name of the Brokers; for God's ſake, let me have the Brokers.

Upon the whole, Sir, I have Reaſon to hope from the preſent Spirit raiſed in the Nation (and, they ſay, it is in a great Meaſure owing to you, that there is ſuch a Spirit rais'd) I ſay, I hope

ſoon to have the fingering of the Throats of theſe Traitors, who have finger'd all the Money in the Nation. Their own Guilt, and the inceſſant Cry of the People, will weigh them down, in ſpite of all Arts and *Skreens*. *N. B.* I have a nice Hand at touching a Neck of Quality; and when any ſuch Cuſtomers come, I ſhall be ready to give you Joy of it, as well as to receive the like from you.

Who am, SIR,

Your Loving Friend,

JOHN KETCH

NUMB. XXVII.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR, *March* 25, 1721.

FRom the preſent Spirit of this Nation, it is ſtill further evident to me, what I have always thought, that the People would conſtantly be in the Intereſts of Truth and Liberty, were it not for external Deluſion, and external Force. Take away Terror, and Men never would have been Slaves: Take away Impoſture, and Men will never be Dupes nor Bigots. The People when they are in the Wrong, are generally in the Wrong thro' Miſtake; and when they come to know it, are apt frankly to correct their own Faults. Of which Candor in them *Machiavel* has given ſeveral Inſtances, and many more might be given.

But it is not ſo with Great Men and the Leaders of Parties; who are, for the moſt part, in the Wrong thro' Ambition, and continue in the Wrong thro' Malice. Their Intention is wicked, and their End criminal; and they commonly aggravate

gravate great Crimes by greater. As great Dunces as the Governours of Mankind often are, (and God knows they are often great enough) they are never Traytors out of meer Stupidity.

Machiavel ſays, *that no wiſe Man needs decline the Judgment of the People in the Diſtribution of Offices and Honours, and ſuch particular Affairs*; (in which I ſuppoſe he includes Puniſhment) *for in thoſe Things they are almoſt infallible.*

I could give many Inſtances wherein the People of *England* have judged and do judge right; as they always would, were they not miſled. They are, particularly, unanimous in their Opinion, that we ought by no Means to part with *Gibraltar*; and this their Opinion is grounded upon the ſame Reaſons that ſway the wiſeſt Men in this Matter.

They likewiſe know, that an *Engliſh* War with *Muſcovy*, would be downright Madneſs; for that, whatever Advantage the ſame might be to other Countries, it would grievouſly hurt the Trade and Navy of *England*, without hurting the Czar.

They know too, that a Squabble between *Spain* and the Emperor about *Italy*, could not much affect *England*; and that therefore were we to go to War with either, upon that Account, as Things now ſtand, it could not be for the Sake of *England*.

They know, that our Men of War might be always as honeſtly employed in defending our Trade, by which our Country ſubſiſts, from the Depredations of Pyrates, as in conquering Kingdoms for thoſe, to whom the Nation is nothing obliged, or in defending Provinces, with which the Nation has nothing to do, and from which it reaps no Advantages.

They know, that it is of great Concernment to any People, that the Heir Apparent to their Crown be bred amongſt them; not only that he may be reconciled, by habit, to their Cuſtoms

and

and Laws, and grow in Love with their Liberties; but that at his Acceſſion to the Throne, he may not be engroſſed and beſet by Foreigners, who will be always in the Intereſts of another Country, and conſequently will be attempting to miſlead him into Meaſures miſchievous to his Kingdom, and advantageous to themſelves, or their own Nation.

The People know, that thoſe are the beſt Miniſters, who do the moſt Good to their Country, or rather the leaſt Miſchief: They can feel Miſery and Happineſs, as well as thoſe that govern them; and will always, in ſpight of all Arts, love thoſe that do them a ſenſible Good, and abhor, as they ought, thoſe that load them with Evils. Hence proceeds the Popularity, and the great and unenvied Characters of our preſent Governours; who, beſides the memorable and proſperous Projects which they have brought to Maturity, for the Good of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, would likewiſe have obliged us with another Preſent, but very few Years ſince, which would have compleated all the reſt, if we had had the Courteſy to have accepted it.

It is certain, that the People, when left to themſelves do generally, if not always, judge well; we have juſt now a glaring Inſtance of it in the loud and unanimous Call of all Men, that Mr. *Knight* may be brought over; I ſay, the Call of all Men, except the Directors and their Accomplices. Nay, the People judge well, as to the Cauſe of his going away; they more than gueſs for whoſe Sake, and by whoſe Perſuaſion, he went; and they are of opinion that, were he here, the Trials of Guilt in the Houſe of Commons would be much ſhorter, and the Tower of *London* ſtill more nobly inhabited. I am indeed ſurprized that he is not already in *London*, conſidering of what Conſequence it is to have him here, both to the Publick, and to private Men.

Whether

Whether the Directors and their Maſters ſhall be puniſhed or no, is to me one and the ſame Queſtion, as to ask, whether you will preſerve your Conſtitution or no, or whether you will have any Conſtitution at all? It is a Contention of Honeſty and Innocence with Villany and Falſhood; it is a Diſpute whether or no you ſhall be a People; it is a Struggle, and, if it is baulk'd, will, in all probability, be the laſt Struggle, for old *Engliſh* Liberty. All this is well underſtood by the People of *England*.

Now, tho' the inferior Knaves are in a fair way of being hang'd, yet our Top-Traytors, having tranſacted all their Villanies in the *South-Sea* with Mr. *Knight* alone, or with Mr. *Knight* chiefly, will think themſelves always ſafe, ſo long as they can keep him abroad; and while he continues abroad, the Nation's Vengeance can never be half compleat.

As to my own particular, I am ſo ſanguine in this Affair, that the very Reaſons commonly given why he *will not* be brought over, are to me very good Reaſons why he *will* be brought over I cannot but wonder to hear any Doubts about it. I am ſure thoſe who ſuggeſt ſuch Doubts, muſt ſuggeſt with the ſame Breath very terrible Crimes againſt ſome very conſiderable Men.

The Buſineſs of bringing over Mr. *Knight* is become the Buſineſs of the Miniſtry, and incumbent on them only. It is become their Duty to their Maſter King *GEORGE*, as they would preſerve entirely to him the Affections of a willing and contented People, by ſhewing them, that in Conſiderations of their mighty Wrongs (which the ſaid Miniſtry did all in their Power to prevent) they ſhall have all fair Play for Juſtice and Reſtitution. And it is in this reſpect too become the Duty of the Miniſtry to the People, whoſe Humours it is their Buſineſs to watch, and whoſe Intereſt it is the r Buſineſs to ſtudy, as much as the Intereſt of the King himſelf; and it muſt be owned

owned to the Praiſe of the preſent Set, that they have conſtantly conſulted and purſued the one as much as the other, with equal Skill and Honeſty; and ſo far King and People are equally obliged to them.

As to the perſonal Intereſts of Miniſters themſelves, I ſay nothing, the ſame being ſuppoſed always firmly linked with the other two, as doubtleſs it is at preſent. Let me only add here, that the bringing over Mr. *Knight* is a Duty which they owe to *themſelves*, their own Characters being intimately concerned in it; otherwiſe——

People indeed begin to ſay, that the ſuppreſſing of Evidence ought to be taken for Evidence, as in the Caſe of Mr. *Aiſlabie*, who burnt the Book which contained the Evidence. There is a noble Perſon too, ſaid to be mentioned in the Report of the Committee, not to his Advantage; but I thank God, now fully vindicated by Patriots as incorrupt as himſelf, upon the fulleſt Proof of his Innocence; and if his Acquittal did not meet the univerſal Concurrence of all preſent, it could be owing only to Mr. *Knight*'s not being at hand to ſpeak what he knew: Had he made his Appearance, there had never been a Diviſion upon the Queſtion, but all would have been then as unanimous in their Sentiments about that Great Man's Integrity and clean Hands, as all the reſt of the Kingdom at preſent are: However, Reputation is ſo nice a Thing, that it cannot be made too clear; and therefore we are ſure of the hearty Aſſiſtance of this illuſtrious Patriot to bring over Mr. *Knight*, if poſſible, to make his Vindication yet more compleat.

It is alſo the Intereſt of another Great Perſon, equal to the firſt in Power and Innocence, and who, without doubt, has taken common Meaſures with him for the Publick Good, and will equally ſhare in the grateful Applauſe of good Men, and the Reproach of bad; for no Degrees of Virtue will put any one beyond the Reach of

Envy

Envy and Calumny, and therefore we cannot be ſure that his ſtrenuous and bareſaced Protection of innocent and oppreſſed Virtue will not be miſinterpreted by popular Clamour, which miſapplies often eſtabliſhed and well-known Truths; as, that no one who has not Part of the Gain will adopt part of the Infamy; that it is the Property of Innocence to abhor Guilt in others, as well as not to practiſe the ſame it ſelf, and to puniſh as well as to hate it; that no Man who is not a Thief, will be an Advocate for a Thief; that Rogues are beſt protected by their Fellows; and that the ſtrongeſt Motive any Man can have for ſaving another from the Gallows, is the Fear of the ſame Puniſhment for the ſame Crimes: And though theſe and a thouſand other ſuch unwarrantable Imputations ought not, and have not made the leaſt Impreſſion upon one conſcious of his own Virtue; yet it is every Man's Duty, as well as Intereſt, to remove the moſt diſtant Cauſes of Suſpicion from himſelf, when he can do it conſiſtent with his publick Duty; and therefore we are equally ſure of this great Man's Endeavours too for bringing over Mr. *Knight*.

Even ſome of our Legiſlators themſelves have not been free from Calumny, who are all concerned to have their Characters vindicated; and therefore we may be ſure, will, in the higheſt Manner, reſent any Prevarication, or trifling Chicane, if ſuch a Procedure could be poſſibly ſuppoſed in an Affair of this nice Importance to all *England*, as well as to many of themſelves.

Nay, the whole Parliament of *England*, who have generouſly undertaken the Scrutiny of the late black Knaveries, and the Puniſhment of the Knaves, are nearly concerned to ſee Mr. *Knight* brought over. They find, in their Enquiries, his Teſtimony often refer'd to, and that the Evidence is not compleat without him. They know already a good deal of what he could ſay; and I doubt not but he could ſay more than they know. They have once addreſs'd his Majeſty already about bringing him over, and I

 ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe will again, if he does not come ſpeedily. The Buſineſs of the whole Nation does, as it were, ſtand ſtill for it; ſeeing it is become the Buſineſs and Expectation of the whole Nation.

As to Remoras from abroad, I cannot ſee Room for any —— Quite otherwiſe; I always thought it very fortunate for *England*, that Mr. *Knight* fell into the *Emperor*'s Hands; a Prince for whom we have done ſuch *Mighty*, ſuch *Heroick* Favours; for whom we conſumed our Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, for whom we guarantee'd *Italy*, for whom we preſerved and conquered Kingdoms; a Prince, in fine, for whoſe Service we have waſted Years, Fleets and Treaſures: And can it be alledged or ſuppoſed, with the Appearance of common Senſe, that this great Prince, the ſtrict Friend, old Confederate and faſt Ally of *England*; a Prince who has been, as it were, the Ward of *England*, and brought up in its Arms; ſupported by its Intereſt and Counſels, protected and aggrandiz'd by its Fleets and Armies, will, againſt all the Principles of good Policy, and againſt all the Ties of Gratitude and Honour, fly in the Face of his Friends and Benefactors, by refuſing to deliver up to *this Nation* and *THIS KING*, a little Criminal, ſmall in his Character, but great in his Crimes, and of the utmoſt Conſequence to *England*, in the purſuit of this great Enquiry, which merits the Conſideration, and commands the Attention of every *Engliſhman*?

We could draw up a long, a very long Liſt of good Deeds done, and expenſive Favours ſhewn, to the Emperor; without being afraid of being put out of Countenance by any *German* Catalogue of Returns made us from *Vienna*. Perhaps, there may have been ſome Courteſies procured from thence *by England*; but we would ask, Whether they were intended or procured *for England*? It ſeems to me, that this is the firſt Time of asking *for our ſelves*: And ſhall we, this firſt Time, be denied? Will ſuch an humble Mite be refus'd for Millions frankly beſtow'd, and beſtowed beyond all Conjecture or Expectation?

pectation? It cannot be; nor, if it could, ought it to be born. We know how to ſhew, that we have Senſe as well as Power, and Reſentment as well as Liberality.

The *Emperor* therefore cannot be ſuſpected in this Matter; I dare ſay he will comply with our Demands, as ſoon as they are made, *whatever they be*. He will not put ſuch Contempt upon *us*, who have *purchas'd* more Reſpect at his Hands. Beſides, it is confidently aſſerted, that Mr. *Knight* longs to be at Home; which I am apt to believe: He knows, that the kind Counſel given him, to go away, was not given him for his own ſake: And has reaſon to fear, that thoſe who ſent him away, will keep him away. There is *Laudanum* in *Flanders*, as well as in *England*, and That or a Poignard may thwart his beſt Inclinations to return. If that ſhould happen, we are at Liberty to think the worſt; and, I doubt, we cannot think too bad. Unhappy Man! he was not a Knave for himſelf alone; and I am apt to believe, were he here, he would honeſtly betray thoſe Men to the Publick, for whom he wickedly betray'd the Publick.

Thus then, in all Likelihood, neither the Emperor nor Mr. *Knight* are to be blamed, if Mr. *Knight* does not return. But whether he is willing or no, the Emperor has no Right, no Pretence to keep him. Who will be then to blame, if the univerſal Cry of Juſtice, and of the Nation, ſhould not have its Effect? The Queſtion is eaſy, were the Anſwer prudent to give. In Truth, there needs no Anſwer; all Mankind will know how to ſolve this Difficulty.

An honourable Meſſenger has been gone near Six Weeks, and yet the Commons have Occaſion to addreſs his Majeſty to know what Anſwer he has ſent! Wonderful, in a Caſe that is of ſo much Importance, and which requires ſo much Expedition, and ſo little Ceremony! I have ſometimes thought a Courier muſt needs have been diſpatched to *England* about it long ſince, but that he was way-laid, and murthered by our Conſpirators or their Agents, upon the Road!

This

This may ſeem a ſtrange Fancy; but, without being very aged, I have lived long enough to think nothing ſtrange —— I have not been once amazed theſe Six Months!

In the mean time, the Buſineſs of the Committee, which is the Buſineſs of *Great Britain*, is like to ſtand ſtill. Thoſe Gentlemen have done their Duty; and if their Evidence is not compleat (which however they deny) the Fault is not chargable on *them*; but they are anſwerable, who keep them from better. This is a Reproach not like to be wip'd off, but by bringing over Mr. *Knight*; and then, perhaps, they that deſerve it, may dread a far worſe Thing. Here is the Riddle, and the Solution of the Riddle —— There are thoſe amongſt us, who, cloathed as they are with Infamy, and curs'd and deteſted by their Fellow Creatures univerſally, do yet dread a greater Evil. So precious and prevailing is the Love of Live! Continue me mine, ſweet Heaven, upon better Terms, or not at all.

I ſhall conclude, by repeating an Obſervation I have already made in this Letter, namely, that the ſuppreſſing of the beſt Evidence, contains in it the ſtrongeſt Evidence; and thoſe Men will ſtill ſtand condemn'd, who, in Trials of Innocence and Guilt, ſtop the Months of their Judges, and deprive the Accuſers of their Witneſſes.

I am, dear SIR,

Monday March 20. 1720. *Your truſty Old Friend,*

CATO.